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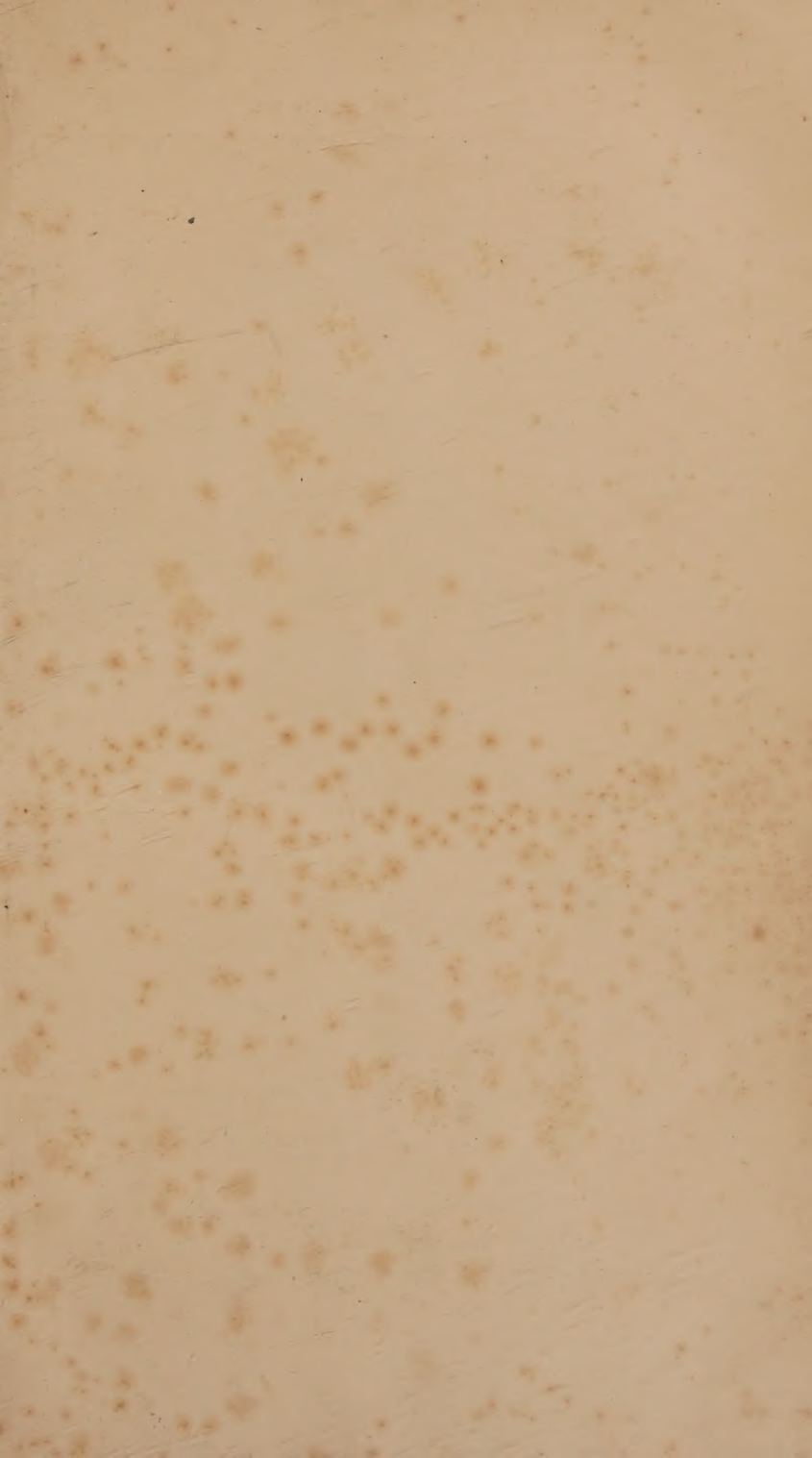


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Spes mea in Deo est.

EFFIGIES SEBASTIANI CABOTI.
ANGLI FILII MOHANI S. CABOTI VENETI
MILITIS AVRHATII PRIMII INVENTORIS
ORIS TERRÆ NOVÆ SUB HERICO VII
ANGLIÆ REGE.



“—The good olde and famuse man,”

Master Sebastian Cabote,

LANSDOWNE MSS.

“Tould me that he was born at Brystowe.”

RICHARD EDEN.

*After a picture by Holbein, in the King's Collection, temp. Henry VIII.,
lately in possession of Charles Joseph Harford, Esq.,
and engraved in Seyer's 'Memoirs of Bristol,' 1825.*

BUENOS AYRES

AND THE

PROVINCES OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA:

FROM

THEIR DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST BY THE SPANIARDS TO THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE.

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THEIR PRESENT STATE, TRADE, DEBT, ETC. ; AN APPENDIX OF
HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL DOCUMENTS; AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE
GEOLOGY AND FOSSIL MONSTERS OF THE PAMPAS.

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AND MANY YEARS CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF H. B. M. AT BUENOS AYRES.



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* This view has a particular interest attached to it, inasmuch as it sets at rest two disputed points: the first, as to the precise site of the first settlement of the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres, which, from the position of the vessels, can only be on the Riachuelo; and, secondly, whether or not bows and arrows were used by the Querandis, which many authors dispute. The plate in question being drawn for Schmidel, who was one of the besieged party, must, I think, be admitted as good evidence on both these questions; not to mention that in his narrative he specifies bows and arrows amongst their arms.

ERRATA.



Page 18, *read* " 1537 " *for* " 1557."

Page 80, *read* " 800,000 " *for* " from 600 to 700,000."

Page 94, *read* " but to establish " *instead of* " by establishing."

INTRODUCTION.

WHAT is the Argentine Republic? What that land of milk and honey, with its Pampas full of cattle, and its Selvas full of bees? What portion of the map of South America does it occupy? What are its physical features—its natural productions—its capabilities for maintaining the populations which may in due time inhabit it, and for raising them to any importance amongst the nations of the earth?

Such are the natural inquiries of the geographer, the merchant, and the politician—inquiries which from time to time are still addressed to me in consequence of my having been so many years employed in that part of South America.

Upon my return to Europe, I thought the best way of meeting such demands was to give to the public, in whose service it was obtained, a summary of the information which I had myself been able to collect upon these matters; but whilst engaged in preparing my work, Don Pedro de Angelis at Buenos Ayres, under the auspices of that government, commenced the publication of a collection of historical notices and documents relating to the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, which seemed to supersede any necessity for extending my own task, as I then said, beyond “a brief and general sketch of the Republic, and of the progress of discovery in that part of the world in the last sixty years.”

I had at that time principally in view to endeavour to elucidate the geography of those countries hitherto very

little known and most imperfectly laid down on the then best existing maps, and towards which I had formed at considerable cost, and brought to England, a numerous and important collection of manuscript maps and memoirs, which I placed in the hands of Mr. John Arrowsmith, who undertook to construct from them an entirely new map of the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata and the adjacent Countries; and which, so far as regarded the coast lines, the invaluable surveys of Captains King and FitzRoy enabled him to complete upon the best and most recent authority.

I thought it was incumbent upon me to give some account of the data upon which a new map of so large a portion of South America was founded, and which I believed to be a great improvement upon those hitherto published of that part of the world. The opinions to that effect which have since been expressed by some of the public authorities in South America, and—with his permission, I may add—by the greatest of modern geographers, Baron Humboldt, have assured me that I was neither mistaken in that belief, nor in my hope that I had been able to add something to our general stock of geographical knowledge.*

* The author received the annexed letter from Baron Humboldt in 1839, upon the appearance of his original work. Had it solely related to his own endeavours, however gratified by the kind notice therein taken of them, he might have hesitated to give it publicity; but referring, as this valuable letter does, with so much more cause to the scientific labours of Captain FitzRoy and Mr. Darwin, he thinks he ought not to keep to himself such a testimony from so eminent an authority to the importance of the works of his countrymen; still less can he withhold Baron Humboldt's opinions with regard to the masses of iron from Otumpa and Atacama, after repeating the ideas of others which gave rise to them:—

“ Mon cher Chevalier,—Si j'ai tardé si long-temps à vous offrir l'hommage de ma vive reconnaissance pour votre bel et important ouvrage sur Buenos Ayres et

les Provinces du Rio de la Plata, ce n'est qu'à cause du désir que j'ai eu d'étudier, pour ainsi dire, la plume à la main, ce grand tableau physique et politique.

“ Votre ouvrage, et le Voyage du Capitaine FitzRoy enrichi par les belles observations de M. Darwin, font époque dans l'histoire de la géographie moderne. On est surpris de la masse de matériaux que vous avez pu réunir pour éclaircir la topographie des pays si grossièrement ébauchée sur nos cartes de l'Amérique du Sud.

“ La carte qui accompagne votre ouvrage, comme celle qui orne l'Expédition du Beagle, seront les bases solides des cartes qu'on hâtera de construire sur une échelle plus grande.

“ Comme géologue et comme physicien, je vous dois des remerciemens particuliers. A des vues d'économie politique auxquelles votre position administrative sem-

Further, it seemed to me that I was called upon to give some account of the discovery of those fossil monsters of the Pampas, the remains of which I had brought to Europe, and which had excited so much interest amongst geologists and palæontologists.

These, with an account of the trade and public debt of Buenos Ayres and some statistical notices, were the subjects to which I principally confined myself in publishing the work in question. It has been out of print some years, and in consequence of a renewed interest in those countries, from recent political events, I have been applied to for a new edition.

In responding to this call, I have endeavoured to increase the interest of the work by adding to it a brief account of the first discovery and settlement of the countries of the Rio de la Plata by the Spaniards, which appeared to be wanting to complete the history of the early Spanish conquests in the New World, recently given to the public by its most talented and eloquent historian, Mr. Prescott, and with the thread of which it will be found to be more interwoven than may be supposed.

The Chronicles of the Conquest of the Rio de la Plata are far from uninteresting, replete as they are with tales of hardship, endurance, and perseverance characteristic of the chivalrous spirit of the age and of the bold adven-

blait vous inviter, vous avez ajouté d'excellentes observations sur la formation des Pampas—fond soulevé d'un golfe pélagique: sur les ossemens fossiles d'animaux si étranges que le *megatherium* et le *glyptodon*: sur l'absence d'animaux carnivores: sur le relief général du pays, et les passages des Andes: sur la météorologie et ces 'awful dust storms,' dont nous avons souffert aussi, mais à un moindre degré, dans les déserts qui entourent la Mer Caspienne.

"En enrichissant le Musée de votre pays de l'aérolite la plus gigantesque qu'on possède en Europe, j'observe que vous mettez en danger son existence plénière: je pense que les localités méritent (lorsqu'elles seront rendues plus acces-

sibles) un examen plus précis par un naturaliste accoutumé à ce genre d'observations géologiques. A un époque où les étoiles filantes jouissent d'un si grand crédit dans le monde, je n'ose me ranger de votre côté, et regarder les aérolites de Pallas, si identiques avec celles qu'on a vu tomber toutes chaudes, comme séparées de quelque gîte de minéral terrestre. Vous excuserez, Monsieur, un doute dont la franchise doit justifier les éloges que j'ai donné à tant d'excellens aperçus que renferme votre important ouvrage, fruit de solides et pénibles recherches.

"Agréez, &c.

(Signé) "LE BARON DE HUMBOLDT.
"Sans-Souci, près Potsdam,
ce 18 Sept., 1839."

turers who went forth to take possession of the newly discovered regions, although they may be devoid of that which gives such an indescribable charm to the histories of the conquest of Mexico and Peru—the novel and unexpected state of aboriginal civilization found amongst the native inhabitants of those more gifted countries by the early Conquistadores.

In the countries of the Rio de la Plata, the state of things was very different: in the widely extending regions discovered by Cabot and his followers, no monuments or works of art were anywhere found like those of the more civilized nations referred to—nothing to indicate that the aboriginal tribes had yet emerged from the rudest state of human society when they first became known to the Spaniards;—naked as the red men of the north, divided into petty and insignificant communities, and thinly scattered over that vast expanse which reaches from the southern boundaries of Peru to Patagonia, they were for the most part either soon dispersed or destroyed in unavailing efforts to resist the invaders, or perished more miserably from the deadly labour in the mines which was imposed upon them by the Conquerors. Even the more fortunate remnants of their race, which for a time were preserved from similar extermination in the celebrated Missions of the Jesuits, soon disappeared when deprived of their spiritual pastors,—leaving nothing but mouldering ruins to attest the existence of the only communities which formed one brighter episode in the annals of the Indians.

There is no want of materials for a history of the Rio de la Plata—the difficulty is to make a selection of them, to discriminate between conflicting narratives of the same events, and to sift the partial statements of contemporary writers.

Of the earlier chronicles which I have principally followed in preference to later works, first in point of date is the personal narrative of *Ulrich Schmidel*, a Ger-

man volunteer, who accompanied Mendoza, the first Adelantado, to the Rio de la Plata in 1534, where for twenty years he was actively engaged in all the principal events of the Conquest. He was commissioned by Yrala on his return, to give the Emperor an account of the proceedings of the Conquistadores, and of the countries which they had taken possession of for the Crown of Spain—sufficient proof, I think, that he was well informed upon those matters. The work in question was published at Nuremberg, in 1559.*

Of still more interest is "*La Argentina Historia de las Provincias del Rio de la Plata*," by Ruy-Diaz de Guzman, written in Paraguay, and containing an account of the Conquest to the arrival of the Adelantado Zarate, in 1573.

The author was the son of a daughter of Yrala, the Hero of the Conquest, by a scion of the Ducal House of Medina Sidonia, who had gone to Paraguay in 1540 with Cabeza de Vaca. He was born and brought up in the midst of the stirring scenes he describes, and wrote avowedly to perpetuate the gallant deeds of the Conquerors, foremost and most distinguished of whom had been his own nearest relatives.

An historical poem under the same name, "*La Argentina*," was written by Martin del Barco Centenera, a priest who went to South America with Zarate about the period with which Ruy-Diaz's History concludes. During a residence there of twenty-four years, he appears to have collected with great pains a large stock of traditionary lore relating to the Conquest, which he has embodied in this rhyming chronicle. If he has mixed up with it some marvellous tales current at the time, and hardly to be wondered at in a poetical account of a new world, he has

* It is given in Spanish in Barcia's *Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales*; and has lately appeared in

French in the interesting collection of early writers on Spanish America, published by M. Ternaux Compans.

the merit of having preserved some facts not elsewhere recorded, which makes it a valuable addition to the early histories of South America. The narrative embraces the same period as the History of Ruy-Diaz, and concludes with the death of De Garay, about ten years later.

The Commentaries of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, the second Adelantado of the Rio de la Plata, written by his secretary Fernandez, give a full account of his memorable march to Assumption in 1542 across the southern part of Brazil. On other matters, such as the administrative measures of his master, Cabeza de Vaca, and the causes of his expulsion from Paraguay, the author's impartiality is perhaps questionable, and his accounts should be well weighed against those given by other parties. Southey, however, has thought it worth while to incorporate nearly the whole of it in his History of Brazil.

Whilst the writers above mentioned may be considered as more or less eye-witnesses of the exploits of their countrymen in America, *Herrera*, the Court historian, who had access to the official archives in Spain to compile his grand History of the Indies, furnishes the necessary details respecting the preparation of the several expeditions for the Rio de la Plata as they were sent forth from Europe, and the instructions given to those in command of them.

That his information with regard to the results is very defective, is not to be wondered at, considering how few were the opportunities up to the close of his History (which ends with the reign of his master, Charles V) of obtaining any information to be depended upon respecting the proceedings of the Spaniards in Paraguay, beyond the facts of the disastrous issue of Mendoza's expedition, and the expulsion of Cabeza de Vaca by the colonists—events which seem in no slight degree to have prejudiced him against Yrala and others, who remained in

the country, and were the real founders of the dominion of Spain in that portion of South America.

In later times the Jesuits published various accounts of South America in connexion with their missionary labours, which, appearing in almost all the languages of Europe, obtained very general circulation, and were read with the more avidity from the pains taken by the Spanish Government to suppress information of any kind relating to their colonial possessions.

Amongst those deserving particular mention are the accounts of *Techo*, *Charlevoix*, *Dobrizhoffer*, *Lozano*, and *Guevara*.

The *History of Paraguay, Buenos Ayres, and Tucuman*, by *Dean Funes*, published at Buenos Ayres in 1816, is little more than a compendium of these works, continued to the Declaration of Independence in that year. So long as it was the last, it was deemed the most complete history of the countries in question; but it is singularly deficient in *dates*, which detracts much from its utility as a work of reference.

But of all works of historical interest, connected with the countries once forming the Viceroyalty, and now the Republic of the Rio de la Plata, the collection of documents, to which I have already alluded, published by *Don Pedro de Angelis*, under the auspices of the Buenos Ayrean Government, must stand pre-eminent. Its publication took place contemporaneously with that of the first edition of this work, and now consists of six large folio volumes: it is by far the most important work that has issued from the press in South America, and comprises a mass of public documents of the greatest value on the history, statistics, geography, &c., of those countries, as new, as regards those subjects, to the Americans themselves, as they are to the European public; their value being greatly enhanced by the notes and introductory

notices of their talented editor, the fruits of a long and careful study of the history and institutions of his adopted country.*

And now, before I enter into any detailed enumeration of my own geographical materials, I cannot forbear mentioning what greatly stimulated my original inquiries on these matters—Mr. Canning's last injunction to me upon my departure for South America. "Send us," he said, "all you can get with respect to the countries you are going to; and maps, if there are any." He felt, no doubt, as I did still more forcibly as soon as I got to Buenos Ayres, how little was known in Europe of even the geography of the interior of these old Spanish colonies.

The greater part of the information which Spain herself had acquired at an enormous cost had never been suffered to transpire, but remained locked up in the archives of the Viceroys and of the Council of the Indies till the revolution, when, upon the deposition of the Spanish authorities, the public offices were ransacked with little ceremony, and many documents of interest disappeared from them, which added greatly to the difficulty afterwards of obtaining even information at the fountain head.

I must say, however, that the authorities of Buenos Ayres, as far as they were able, afforded me every facility in my endeavours to collect information tending to make their country better known; and by their aid, and the kindness of individuals, I was enabled, during my residence in South America, to make a large collection of original documents relating to countries of which the greater part of the world has been till recently, I believe, in complete ignorance; as I think I may say with regard to that portion of the continent situated to the south of Buenos Ayres, and

* *Collecion de Obras y Documentos relativos á la Historia Antigua y Moderna de las Provincias del Río de la Plata, ilustrados con Notas y Disertaciones por Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836-39. 6 tomos, folio.*

the settlements formed by the Spaniards on the coasts of Patagonia.

Amongst the papers in question were the Diaries of Piedra and the Brothers Viedma, who were sent out from Spain in 1780 to explore those coasts and to found settlements upon them ;

The Journal of Villarino, who in 1782 explored the great Rio Negro to its source in the Chilian Cordillera.

Of Don Luis de la Cruz, who in 1806 crossed the Southern Pampas, through the Indian territory, from Antuco in Chile to Buenos Ayres ;

Of Don Pedro Garcia, who commanded the great expedition to the Salinas in 1810 ;

And a variety of other official reports and information respecting the countries to the south, which had been principally collected by the Government with a view to the extension of their frontiers.

General Rosas ordered to be drawn expressly for me in the Topographical Department of the State some maps of the Province of Buenos Ayres upon a large scale, in which all the geographical materials in possession of the Government up to 1834 were embodied, including the marches of the forces under his own orders into the Indian territories, as well as of those detached to co-operate with them from Mendoza, in which much new information was obtained, particularly as regards the course of many of the rivers which descend from the Cordillera to the south of the 34th parallel of latitude, and which constitute one of the most striking though hitherto most imperfectly described features of that part of the continent.

The line of road across the continent from Valparaiso in Chile to Buenos Ayres had been carefully surveyed by Don Felipe Bauza and Don José Espinosa, two officers detached from the surveying expedition of Don Alejandro Malaspina in 1789 ; they fixed all the principal points by

astronomical observation, from the shores of the Pacific to the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, and their map, published in 1810 by the Dirección Hydrográfica at Madrid, forms the groundwork of all others which have since appeared, and is an invaluable document to geographers.

In another direction, the Commissioners appointed under the Treaties of 1750 and 1777 to determine the boundaries of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial dominions, had previously laid down with considerable minuteness a great part of the Countries bordering on either side of the river Paraná.

The especial qualifications of the officers employed in the last operation, the length of time—more than twenty years—spent upon the service, and the enormous expenses incurred by Spain in the endeavour to complete the survey, led to the accumulation of a great variety of useful general information as well as precise geographical data respecting the regions bordering on the line of demarcation, which extended over a distance of nearly 1500 miles from the River Madeira in lat. 12° , to the commencement of the Spanish boundary upon the sea-coast in lat. 34° .

Nor were the labours of the Spanish surveyors confined to the frontiers. They fixed at intervals during their residence in South America many of the principal points in the province of Buenos Ayres, laid down the courses of the great rivers Paraná, Paraguay, and Uruguay, and of their most important tributaries, and drew up various memoirs of great interest respecting the countries bordering upon them, especially the upper parts of the Paraguay, which the pretensions of the Portuguese in that direction made it requisite for them to explore with more than ordinary care and attention.

To Don Felix de Azara, one of the Spanish commissioners, we are indebted for by far the most interesting description

of these countries which we possessed up to the date of its publication at Paris, in 1809, by M. Walckenaer. Unfortunately, from the circumstance of its having been brought out in France whilst we were at war, and men's minds intently bent upon other matters, it was little known in England till long afterwards.* The difficulty of getting any books at that time from the Continent effectually prevented its obtaining any general circulation in this country; and we remained almost as ignorant of its valuable contents as though with other works of a like nature it had been still locked up in the secret archives of the Council of the Indies in Spain.

Excepting the portions which were given in Azara's Atlas, the geographical results of the Great Survey on which he was engaged were not suffered to transpire, and would probably have remained to this day unknown had not the South Americans assumed the management of their own affairs.

I became acquainted, during my residence at Buenos Ayres, with an old engineer officer, Colonel Cabrer, who had been employed from the commencement to the close of this great operation. In his possession I saw a complete set of all the maps drawn by the Commissioners, copied upon a large scale from the originals, which he informed me had been sent to Madrid. He was a staunch old loyalist, who would never believe but that the King of Spain would some day re-establish his rule in South America, under which persuasion nothing would induce him whilst he lived to give up any part of these valuable documents to the new authorities. He is since dead, and I have understood the Government of Buenos Ayres were in treaty for the purchase of them. They will be invaluable not only to them, but to the governments of the Banda

* Extracts from it were given in the *British Review* for September, 1811.

Oriental, of Paraguay, and of Bolivia, whenever the time comes for definitively fixing their boundaries with Brazil and with each other.

I obtained from him copies of some detached portions of these surveys, and a map drawn by him of the Spanish territories to the east of the Paraná for the use of General Alvear when in command of the Buenos-Ayrean army which liberated the Banda Oriental from the Emperor of Brazil, and which the General presented to me at the close of the war, also a large manuscript map taken with the baggage of the Marquis of Barbacena, his opponent, at the battle of Ytuzingo.

These two maps, expressly prepared for the use of the respective Commanders-in-chief, were compiled, as may be supposed, from the best materials to be found in the archives of Buenos Ayres and of Rio de Janeiro.

The Brazilian map comprises all the country lying east of the river Uruguay, from the Island of St. Catherine's to Monte Video, corrected by the Brazilian officers on the line of the army's march to the day before it fell into the hands of their enemies.

With respect to the Provincias *Arribeñas*, or Provinces lying to the westward of the river Paraná, the information is less satisfactory; indeed, of some vast portions of those regions it may be said that nothing but the general course of the principal rivers is as yet known. The immense tract called the Gran Chaco is still in possession of aboriginal tribes, and other extensive districts are inhabited by people who, though of a different race, seem little beyond them in civilization.

It was not the policy of Spain to undertake any careful examination of her colonial possessions, except when obliged to do so in furtherance of measures of self-defence, or in the expectation of some profitable return in the precious metals—the great object of her solicitude; and if the high

road from Potosi to Buenos Ayres had not run through them, I believe we should have hardly known in Europe even the names of the chief towns of some of the intermediate provinces.

When I first arrived at Buenos Ayres, in hopes of obtaining some statistical information on the provinces in the interior, I addressed myself to their several governors personally, and I have every reason to believe, under the circumstances, that they were desirous to meet my wishes. I received the most civil assurances to that effect, but, excepting from Cordova, La Rioja, and Salta, I found them utterly unable to communicate anything of a definite or satisfactory nature; and, although they promised to collect what I asked for, I soon found they had not the means of doing so, and that they had most of them other matters on hand which had more urgent calls on their attention.

The Governor of Salta sent me a detailed report upon the extent and productions of that province, and, what I less expected, a good map of it, drawn by his son, Colonel Arenales, the author of a work upon the Gran Chaco and River Vermejo, in which he has endeavoured to draw attention to the advantages of establishing a company to navigate that river, now proved beyond a doubt to be perfectly practicable throughout its whole course, from Oran, in the heart of the continent, to the Paraná, and thence to the ocean.

In the impossibility of obtaining further information from the local authorities, I established a correspondence with two of my more intelligent countrymen resident at opposite extremes of the Republic—Dr. Gillies, a Scotch physician, established at Mendoza, and Dr. Redhead, who had long been a resident at Salta—both able and willing to assist me in my search after knowledge. They collected and sent me a variety of information which I could not have obtained from any other sources, public or private.

In treating of the provinces of Cuyo, in Chapter XIX., I have mentioned that for which I am indebted to Dr. Gillies.

Dr. Redhead's chiefly related to the Upper Provinces. He was the first to draw my attention to the fossil bones found at Tarija, and to the meteoric iron of Atacama. To him also I owe an interesting series of barometrical observations, made during repeated journeys between Buenos Ayres and Potosi, which, connected with those of Mr. Pentland, to whom we are indebted for nearly all we know of the physical geography of Alto Peru, have furnished materials for constructing the interesting section annexed to the map compiled by Mr. Petermann for this work — the first attempt at any such graphic delineation of the physical features of South America throughout a line which extends from north-west to south-east more than twelve hundred geographical miles.

The similar section from Chile to Buenos Ayres is founded upon the barometrical observations of Bauza, Miers, Gillies, FitzRoy, and Mr. Pentland.

Both, I think it will be admitted, are of great interest in illustration of the hypothesis of the gradual and regular deposition of the alluvial detritus from the Andes in the great basin now filled up by the so-called Pampa formation.

The map in question by Mr. Petermann, I may mention, is chiefly taken from that constructed by Mr. Arrowsmith in 1839, from the materials to which I have referred, so far as that map extends; but it has been necessary to reduce the scale in order to include within the same space a portion of Alto Peru (principally copied from Mr. Pentland's map of the Peru-Bolivian Andes and the Lake of Titicaca), which seemed necessary for the better illustration of the narrative which I have given in the present volume of the first discovery and conquest of the countries to the north of Paraguay.

Although we have still, no doubt, a vast deal to learn before anything like a perfect delineation can be expected of so extensive a portion of the new continent, Mr. Arrow-smith's map, which is now incorporated in his General Atlas, is far the best ever compiled of the portion of South America which it embraces. As I have already mentioned, in the compilation of it he was greatly assisted by the invaluable surveys of the coasts of South America recently brought to this country by Her Majesty's officers employed on that service, which, in any enumeration of the existing materials for such a map, it is impossible to pass over without special notice.

The surveys carried on successively by Captains King, FitzRoy, and Sullivan, and just completed by Captain Kellett, now extend from the mouth of the Rio de la Plata to the Bay of Panamá on the opposite side of the continent, embracing the whole sea-board of the Argentine Confederation—the sterile coasts of Patagonia, the Falkland Islands, the inhospitable group of Tierra del Fuego, the coasts of Chile with its intricate channels and sounds and numerous islands to the south, the shores of Bolivia and Peru, and the hitherto little visited line of coast from the river of Guayaquil to Panamá.

Thanks to the accurate surveys of Captains King and FitzRoy, the Straits of Magellan have now become the highway for steam navigation between the two great oceans of the southern hemisphere, and the ports and havens of the once so much dreaded coasts of Tierra del Fuego safe places of refuge for the sailing vessels of all nations. The nautical instructions connected with these surveys, which have been published at the same time, and for the circulation of which every possible exertion has been made by the Hydrographical Department of the Admiralty under the direction of the distinguished officer who presides over that branch of the service, Sir Francis Beaufort, entitle

him to the thanks of all who are engaged in trade and commerce with the South American States.

It is difficult, indeed, to estimate the vast importance of these great hydrographical works, as they may tend to influence the future development of the resources and trade of the new States of America; but when we add to them the further results in the invaluable contributions to general science of such able and zealous labourers in the cause as Mr. Darwin, and others who, following his example, have gone out with our more recent expeditions, I think we may well take pride in them as a national work tending to the advancement of science and the circulation of useful knowledge, and, in the countries to which they more especially refer, so strikingly contrasting with that restrictive policy of Old Spain, which, in acquiring information, seemed only anxious to conceal it from the rest of the world.

Nor has the French nation been behind-hand in a laudable desire to rival us in these labours. Their surveys of the coasts of Brazil, forming the "*Pilote de Brésil*," are nearly as important to the hydrography of those portions of the shores of the old Portuguese American possessions which they have laid down, as ours are to those of the old Spaniards.

If we can boast of Mr. Darwin's labours, a work has been lately completed in Paris under the auspices of the Government by M. Alcide d'Orbigny, the well-known zoologist,* originally sent to South America to collect objects of natural history, which contains not only the results of the talented author's own observations upon those branches of science which have been his own particular study, but, like most works published under the patronage

* Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale (le Brésil, la République Orientale de l'Uruguay, la République Argentine, la Patagonie, la République du Chili, la République de Bolivie, la République du Pérou). Exécuté pendant les années

1826, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, et 33. Par Alcide d'Orbigny. Ouvrage dédié au Roi, et publié sous les auspices de M. le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique. Paris, commencé 1835. 1847. 8 vols. quarto.

of the French Government of late years, a résumé of almost everything which has been written by others upon the countries described. Little short of an Encyclopædia in bulk and matter, it is a splendid example of the liberality with which the Government of France is always ready to patronize and contribute to works of art and science; but it consists of eight large quarto volumes, and costs more than 50*l.* sterling, which is a serious impediment to its circulation and utility to the great mass of readers.

Mr. Darwin's "Journal of his Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries visited during the voyage of H.M.S. Beagle round the World" may be purchased for a few shillings, and a more instructive and interesting book can hardly be placed within the reach of all classes.

In my former volume I gave an account of the discovery of the remains of some of the great extinct quadrupeds of the Pampas. Subsequent acquisitions having furnished us with better means of describing them, I have re-written the chapter which treats of them, and have further inserted in the Appendix a particular account of the osteology of the most remarkable of these fossil monsters, which Professor Owen has been kind enough to draw up at my request, expressly for this work.

His labours, and those of other learned individuals who have described them, unravel the fabulous traditions handed down by the aborigines respecting a race of Titans, whilst they prove indisputably that the vast alluvial plains in that part of the world at some former period were inhabited by herbivorous animals of most gigantic dimensions, and of forms greatly differing from those of all animals now in existence.

Whilst on this subject it is perhaps not unworthy of observation that amongst the various remains of extinct animals which we have as yet obtained from the Pampas,

no instance, I believe, has been satisfactorily proved of the discovery in that formation of any portion of a *carnivorous* animal.

The fourth and last part of this work, which contains some account of the commerce and debt of Buenos Ayres, is founded upon information which I collected whilst in South America, and upon official returns subsequently published in this and other countries on their trade and commerce with the Rio de la Plata. They show the great and growing increase of the trade of that part of the world, and its importance to the manufacturing interests of Europe, and especially to those of Great Britain.

The particulars respecting the debt are given upon the best data I have been able to procure—the statements from time to time printed by authority at Buenos Ayres, and the accounts of the English loan kept by Messrs. Baring in this country.

In the Appendix I have put together some documents which may be useful to whoever, in due time, may attempt to write the history of these countries from the dawn of their political independence, and to give an account of the various schemes of different parties for their political organization. The most important of them would in all probability never have become known but for party struggles at Buenos Ayres and at Rio de Janeiro, in the course of which they were brought to light, one faction thinking to discredit another by giving them publicity.

The secret instructions of the late Emperor of Brazil will perhaps be read with the most interest, as throwing some light upon what may be the objects of the new Brazilian intervention in the affairs of the Banda Oriental and the adjoining states.

London, February, 1852.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THE political news received from the Rio de la Plata by the February mail induced me to suspend the publication of this volume in the expectation of intelligence of a new and important crisis in the affairs of that part of the world. Those accounts announced that a Brazilian naval force, without any previous declaration of war, had entered the Paraná, and were engaged in assisting the Provinces on the left bank of the river to throw off the authority of General Rosas, against whom Urquiza, the chief of Entre Rios, had risen, backed by the troops which Rosas himself had sent over from Buenos Ayres to assist Oribe in the Banda Oriental, and which had been left without a leader upon that chief's giving up all further struggle for the establishment of his own power.

It would appear that Rosas has been unable to withstand this new combination against him, and that after a hard fight he has succumbed to a force originally of his own creation, as did his predecessor, General Dorrego, who was deposed and put to death by the Buenos Ayrean troops, upon their return from the Banda Oriental, after the war with Brazil. More fortunate than Dorrego, General Rosas has saved his life by taking refuge on board a British ship of war.

Little else is known beyond the fact of the battle in question having been fought in the vicinity of Buenos Ayres on the 3rd of February, and that the city in consequence was to be surrendered under articles of capitulation to the victorious party.

Rosas has fallen ; but who or what is to follow ? Is it to be "*après moi le déluge*," or will the experience of the

last thirty years have sufficed to satisfy the Provinces that the federation they set up in 1820 has proved altogether a fallacy, containing, as I think I have sufficiently shown in Chapter VII. and other parts of this volume, nothing but the elements of discord and disunion? Are they prepared now in earnest to join with Buenos Ayres in substituting constitutional for extraordinary powers, and to make their confederation at last something more than a name? In that case we may look for better things in that part of the world.

March 20, 1852.

BUENOS AYRES
AND THE
PROVINCES OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA.

PART I.

BUENOS AYRES

AND THE

PROVINCES OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

1515—1534.

Discovery of the Rio de la Plata in 1515 by De Solis — Cabot explores it in 1526, ascends the Paraná River, and forms the first Spanish Settlement in those parts — He obtains from the Indians the first Silver from Peru, which he sends home to the Emperor Charles V. — Pizarro arrives about the same time in Spain, having reached Peru from Panamá — Delay in sending aid to Cabot, who returns in consequence to Europe.

IN the same search for a western passage to India which had led Columbus to America, Juan Diaz de Solis, while exploring the southern portion of the newly found continent, in 1515, discovered the mouth of the great estuary of the Rio de la Plata, called by the natives the Paraná Guazú, or Sea-like River, which he ascended as far as the island of Martin Garcia (so named after his pilot), where, going incautiously on shore, he was surprised and put to death by the savages. It does not appear that he had reached even the mouth of the Paraná, the principal stream from which its waters are derived, and which falls into it more than two hundred miles from the sea. The exploration of that wonderful river was reserved for a more distinguished individual, Sebastian Cabot, second to none but Columbus amongst the navigators of his day, an Englishman born and bred, though of Venetian parentage,

and already known to fame from his discovery of North America for Henry VII. of England, and for an attempt, even in those early days, to find a north-west passage to India; services, however, which seem to have been more appreciated in other countries than in this at the time. Disappointed, it is said, at the small encouragement held out to such enterprises in England, Cabot, in 1512, accepted an invitation from Ferdinand the Catholic to repair to Spain, where he was received with marked consideration.

In 1518 he was appointed to the honorable and responsible office which Americus Vespuccius and De Solis had previously held, of *Piloto Mayor* of the kingdom; and a few years later, when Magellan had solved the problem of a western passage to India by proceeding south through the straits which bear his name, he was charged by the Emperor, Charles V., with the command of an expedition fitted out for the purpose of opening a trade with the Spice Islands in the Indian Ocean by the newly discovered route. The expedition in question consisted of three small vessels equipped by the Government, and a caravel fitted out on private account, and sailed from Spain in April, 1526.

Off the coast of Brazil one of the vessels was lost; but what was worse, a spirit of disaffection and jealousy of their commander, the seeds of which appear to have been sown before they left Spain, broke out into open mutiny, headed, too, by his three next officers in command; and although it was promptly and with great energy put down by Cabot, it seems to have obliged him to give up all idea of proceeding further with the voyage to the Moluccas. But Cabot was not the man to return home empty handed, or without some effort in the service of his Royal master, worthy of his own established reputation, to make amends for the abandonment of the advantages anticipated from the fulfilment of his original orders. He had with him about two hundred men, and many gallant adventurers (among others, three brothers of Vasco Nuñez Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean) who had embarked with the expedition in the spirit of the day, only anxious to

distinguish themselves in any enterprise in the cause of discovery in the newly found world.

He had arrived within a short distance of the mouth of that mighty estuary which De Solis had made known, and the further examination of which had been only stopped by his death; and nothing seems more natural than that, being in its vicinity with sufficient means at his disposal, Cabot should, under the circumstances, have resolved to obtain some further information as to that mighty mass of fresh water which he must have been sure could only be the outpourings of some vast regions yet to be explored.

Having once made up his mind to do so, he put the mutineers on shore, and spread his sails for the Río de la Plata. Running down the coast of Brazil, he rounded Cape Santa Maria, and, entering the river, sailed along its eastern shore as far as the little stream of San Juan, the scene of De Solis's disaster: there leaving the two larger vessels, on the 8th of May, 1527, he entered the Paraná with a brig and the caravel, passing through the delta at its mouth by the passage which he called De las Palmas. As he went up the Indians came down in crowds to the shore, in amazement and admiration at the sight of the vessels. Off the mouth of the Carcaraña, now called the Tercero, in lat. $32^{\circ} 50'$, he came to anchor, and, finding the natives disposed to be friendly and the country inviting, he sent back for the remainder of his people and the stores which had been left at San Juan, and commenced building a fort there, to which he gave the name of San Espíritu, the first settlement made by the Spaniards in those parts.

This completed, he confided the charge of it to a trusty officer with sixty men, and once more started on his voyage (on the 22nd Dec. 1527), working his way up the Paraná for three months with great toil and labour, against the stream, for the enormous distance of 900 miles, when his farther progress was stopped by a succession of cataracts, commencing in lat. $27^{\circ} 27'$, which render its navigation any higher impracticable. He then (28th March, 1528) returned to the confluence of

the Paraguay, which he had passed in going up, and ascended it as high as the junction of the river Vermejo, in lat. $26^{\circ} 54'$, where he was attacked by a warlike tribe, the Payaguas, or Agaces, as the Spaniards called them, who came down with 300 canoes against him; and although Cabot bravely put them to flight, with great slaughter, it was not without the loss of his next in command, Miguel Rifos, besides another officer and fifteen of his men, who were slain by the savages.

These Indians, who were much the most formidable and warlike people he had yet met with, when once they had experienced the superiority of the white men, seemed only anxious to secure their friendship and alliance. Not only did they then bring them supplies of provisions, but, to their surprise, they produced a quantity of gold and silver ornaments, which they offered to the Spaniards in exchange for the glass beads and other European baubles which they had brought with them. According to their own account, they were spoils of war obtained some years before by their nation in an inroad which they had made into Peru during the government of the Inca Huayna Capac, the father of Atahualpa, who died at Quito in 1525. So says Herrera, author of the *Historia de las Indias*, quoting from Cabot's reports to the Emperor;* adding that, "besides the gold and silver which they had brought from Peru, from the friendly terms he had established with the Indians, Cabot further obtained from them many secrets relative to those lands."

Nor is it difficult to imagine what wonderful accounts those untutored savages would relate of the wealth and power and civilization of an Empire so strikingly contrasting with their own miserable barbarism, and what intense interest they must have excited in Cabot, whose whole life had been devoted to the cause of discovery, and who, from his previous employment, was, as it happened, the most competent perhaps of all men in existence to appreciate the full value of the information in question. In his office of *Piloto Mayor* it had been his especial duty to examine and weigh the various reports which, after

* Herrera, Decade IV. lib. 8. cap. 11.

Balboa's first discovery of the Pacific, were continually sent to Spain from Mexico, relating to a land abounding in gold and silver in the far south, precisely in that direction which was now pointed out by the Indians of the Vermejo, and the existence of which seemed to be satisfactorily corroborated by the samples of the precious metals and works of art which they had themselves acquired there. There can, I think, be no doubt that Cabot was himself fully satisfied that he had discovered the way to that long-looked for region by the Paraná, although the intervening distance to be traversed through wild regions and savage tribes, which the natives described as equal to 500 leagues, was manifestly more than he could attempt without a much larger force than he had then at command.

With a view to obtain the further aid which was requisite, he now, therefore, determined to send home to the Emperor an account of his proceedings and of the all important intelligence he had obtained. An unexpected circumstance made it the more necessary for him to do so without delay. Another individual had made his appearance in the river, Don Diego Garcia, who, in ignorance of Cabot's proceedings, had been sent out to the Paraná expressly to follow out De Solis's original discovery; and although Cabot, with his usual good sense and management, avoided any collision with him as to his authority, his pretensions were such as to render a reference to Spain absolutely necessary.

He lost, therefore, no time in returning to San Espíritu, whence he despatched two of his officers to Spain, one of whom was an Englishman, George Barlow by name, with a full report for the information of the Emperor of all that he had heard and seen, and "of the vast riches which might be looked for from these newly-discovered regions." He availed himself of the same opportunity to send home some of the Guarani Indians to do homage to his Imperial master, and a selection of the gold and silver ornaments from Peru, which he had obtained as above mentioned.*

* Herrera says they were the first specimens of gold and silver brought from the Indies. He must have meant from Peru.

Cabot has been rather severely censured by some of the Spanish historians, and others who have followed them, for having given the name of *Rio de la Plata*, "The River of Silver," to the Paraná from these discoveries, although the fact that he was the author of that name is by no means clear. But, supposing it to be so, when we consider the strong conviction which must have been upon his mind that some of its great tributaries from the west, if not the parent stream itself, were connected with the countries of gold and silver pointed out to him in that direction, and of which he had the samples before him, there seems, I think, quite sufficient to have justified at the time an appellation, the correctness of which has only been impugned by the result of information long subsequently obtained. That the accounts of a region abounding in gold and silver were no invention of Cabot's to give undue importance to his discoveries in the eyes of the Emperor, as has been unjustly alleged against him, is proved by the fact that Ayolas, who after him was the first European to reach the shores of the Paraguay River, received there from the natives precisely the same accounts "of a people afar off in a land rich in gold and silver," and "who," they added, "were as civilised as the Christians themselves." * So says Schmidel, who was with him.

The sight of the gold and silver appears to have been sufficient to satisfy the court of Spain of the importance to the crown of Cabot's discoveries, and to have secured for him a full approval of his having abandoned for them the more mercantile objects of the voyage to the Moluccas.

The Emperor, says the Jesuit Guevara, the historian of Paraguay, "received the messengers of Cabot with great condescension, holding long converse with them relative to the countries they had visited, the interest of the audience being greatly heightened by the presence of the Guarani chiefs with their strange and peculiar Indian physiognomy, of whom the Emperor took particular notice, putting to them many questions respecting the manners and customs

* "De una nacion que habitaba lejos en una provincia rica de oro y plata," &c. —
 "Y por relacion de otros anadian que eran tan sabios como los Cristianos," &c. —
Schmidel.

and religious rites and observances of their race; all which," adds the same author, "greatly inclined his Imperial Majesty to favour Cabot and to send him further assistance to enable him to prosecute his discoveries; but other grave matters which about that time called him to Italy, prevented his then carrying out his intentions." *

There were other circumstances perhaps which contributed to the delay. Francisco Pizarro had arrived in Spain shortly before the messengers of Cabot (in May, 1528), to give an account in person of his own marvellous adventures and discoveries. Sailing from Panamá southward along the shores of the Pacific, he had actually reached the confines of that mighty Empire of the Incas, of the existence of which Cabot could only report the rumours which had been given him by the Indians from afar. Further, Pizarro came to offer, not to ask, assistance to prosecute his discoveries, a point of great importance to Charles in the exhausted state of his treasury, which could ill spare any pecuniary aid at that moment for such extraordinary services, whilst the messengers of Cabot were in no position to make similar propositions: they came to seek aid at the expense of the government, and had no chance of obtaining it from any other quarter. Pizarro, in return for his offer to add this region of promised wealth to the Spanish dominions, had already obtained from the Emperor the grant of a government, the boundaries of which were yet to be known; and, with the imperfect information before him, it may be fairly supposed that Charles may have hesitated ere he took measures to promote the advance of Cabot into Peru from another quarter, lest he should clash with his followers.

* "Llevában tambien un donativo de plata para el Emperador, y algunos Indios que pasaban á dar la obediencia en nombre de sus naciones. Los agentes de Gaboto fueron admitidos con soberana dignacion conferenciando largamente con ellos el Cesar, é inquiriendo varias curiosidades concernientes á diferentes materias. Concurrieron al agrado del Recibimiento los Guaranis, Embajadores caracterizados con fisionoma peregrina y modales Indicas, que llamaban la atencion del Monarca, informandose largamente sobre sus genios, ritos, y costumbres. . . .

Mas que todo admiró su grande entendimiento el artificio de los tejidos y delicadeza de labor, maniobra de artificio superior á lo que prometia la torpeza de sus manos.

"Todo lo cual inclino el Emperador á favorecer á Gaboto y enviarle socorro de gente para la prosecucion de la conquista, pero como la monarquia se hallaba embarazada con la alianza de Inglaterra y Francia y el año de 29 gravisimos negocios sacaron de España para Italia el Cesar, este proyecto no llegó entonces á ejecucion."—*Historia del P. Guevara.*

Whatever may have been his first inclinations, the result was, that the Emperor did nothing, and Cabot was left in the Paraná in anxious uncertainty as to the fate of his messengers, until, his patience being fairly exhausted, he resolved to return to Europe to submit his discoveries in person to his Imperial master.

He reached Spain in 1530, after an absence of nearly five years, a few months after Francisco Pizarro had sailed on his return to Peru with all the powers which the Crown could give him.

We are left to imagine the extent of Cabot's disappointment at finding upon his arrival that the information to which he attached so much importance had been forestalled by the realization of the discovery of Peru by the Spaniards from Panamá. He seems, however, to have been a singularly disinterested person, wrapt up in the cause of discovery, the great object of his whole life and labours; and although no man had more distinguished himself in his particular calling, he was apparently but little ambitious of titular honours for himself, or likely to regard with feelings of envy such a man as Pizarro. The good Cabot, "el buen Gaboto" of the Argentina, "that most gentle and courteous person," as he is elsewhere described by a contemporary, could have had no wish to wade through scenes of blood and injustice to earn the dubious honour of being called a "Gran Conquistador," nor is there anything, considering all we know of the character of the man, to surprise us that he seems to have chosen to resume, when it was offered to him, his old office of Piloto Mayor, in preference to any other employment. By doing so, in all probability, he not only consulted what was best suited to his own inclinations and abilities, but placed himself in the best possible position for furthering the object which, it may be supposed, he had most at heart—that of directing public attention to the new regions he had himself discovered, and to the Paraná, as a way to Peru. With that in view, it is clear he had only to bide his time and wait for further intelligence from Pizarro; nor was it long in coming.

In January, 1534, just four years after the departure of

Francisco from Spain, his brother, Hernando Pizarro, returned with the astounding intelligence of the conquest of the empire of Peru, of the capture of the Inca, the unfortunate Atahualpa, and of the prodigious quantity of gold and silver acquired by the Spaniards, the Royal fifth of which, besides a wonderful display of rare jewels and curious ornaments, Pizarro had sent home to the Emperor, a treasure such as had never before been seen in Europe, thus more than realising all the reports of a land teeming with gold and silver in the interior of the new continent, of which Cabot had obtained perhaps the first and most positive proofs through the Indians of the Paraná.

The effect produced in Spain by the wonderful accounts of Pizarro and of the Spaniards who returned with him laden with their share of the spoils of Peru, can be better imagined than described. All men were eager to rush there; it was no longer a question of enlisting a few desperate adventurers to go they knew not whither or for what. Nobles of the highest rank and hidalgos of every grade pressed forward to offer their services to the Crown, and to solicit as a favour to be permitted to embark at their own cost and expense for these newly-discovered regions.

Never had so many Cavaliers of noble and gentle lineage embarked for the New World as Hernando Pizarro took with him on his return, in 1534, to join his brother Francisco in Peru; but hardly had that brilliant armament been despatched, when another expedition was prepared, which in numbers and appointments completely eclipsed it, and, considering the uncertainty of the object in view, was a still more remarkable exemplification of the wild spirit of adventure which pervaded all classes at that time. This was the expedition fitted out by Don Pedro de Mendoza for the conquest and settlement of the Rio de la Plata.

CHAPTER II.

1534—1538.

Brilliant Armament fitted out by Mendoza for the Rio de la Plata — Sails in 1534—The Spaniards land at Buenos Ayres — Are attacked by the Indians, and suffer great losses — Famine also — They abandon their Settlement at Buenos Ayres and proceed up the River — Mendoza returns to Spain, and dies on the way — Ayolas is cut off in an attempt to reach Peru — Yrala settles in Paraguay, and is elected Governor.

INSTIGATED not only by the brilliant accounts of Peru sent home by Pizarro, but by the conviction, as we may infer, which was entertained by the Piloto Mayor* of the possibility of reaching that region of riches by the Rio de la Plata, Don Pedro de Mendoza, a gentleman of the Emperor's household, and who, like Pizarro, had been a follower of the Great Captain in the Italian wars, obtained permission to equip an armament to take possession of the countries discovered by Cabot, and to found settlements there at his own cost; in return for which he was to be appointed Governor thereof, with the title of Adelantado, and various privileges of importance set forth in an Asiento, or formal contract, entered into with him by his Imperial master. According to the agreement in question, Mendoza bound himself to take out 1000 men fully armed and equipped, with sufficient supplies to last them for a year, with medical officers to take care of the sick, and a number of missionaries for the conversion of the Indians—an object which, as well as their good treatment, the Emperor wished it to be understood he had much at heart. He was to bear the entire cost of the expedition; and it was expressly stipulated that the Emperor was not to be called upon to

* “Llegado Sebastian Cabot á Castilla dió cuenta á Su Magestad de lo que habia descubierto y visto en aquellas provincias, la buena disposicion calidad y temple de la tierra, la gran suma de naturales, con la noticia, y muestras de oro y plata

que traia; y de tal manera supo ponderar este negocio, que algunos caballeros de caudal pretendieron esta conquista y gobernacion.”—*La Argentina de Guzman*, cap. x.

pay any part of the expenses; even the salary of the Adelantado, fixed at 2000 ducats, with as much more for his entertainment, was to be chargeable upon the lands he had yet to conquer.

To those who might volunteer to accompany him were conceded all the privileges usually granted to those going to the Indies; and to sharpen their zeal in the cause, and to remind them perhaps of the enormous booty in the shape of ransom recently obtained from the unfortunate Inca by the followers of Pizarro, it was specifically set forth in the Asiento, that if any Sovereign Prince should fall into their hands, the whole of his ransom, although by law belonging to the Emperor, was to be divided amongst the conquerors, deducting only the Royal fifths.

No sooner were the terms of this Asiento made public than men of all degrees came forward to join Mendoza, attracted partly by his rank and position about the Court, and not less perhaps by the alluring appellation of the Rio de la Plata. More than fifty individuals of distinction are named as taking part in this enterprise. First upon the list was the Cavalier Don Juan de Osorio, an officer who had gained great repute in Italy, and who was made commander of the troops; Don Diego de Mendoza, a brother of the Adelantado, was appointed admiral of the fleet, and Juan de Ayolas, Alguazil Mayor; whilst Don Domingo Martinez de Yrala, better known from his subsequent exploits, Francisco de Mendoza, major duomo of the King of the Romans, and Don Carlos Dubrin, the Emperor's foster-brother, went out as volunteers, besides many others, some with appointments to special offices on the part of the Crown, connected with the projected settlements, and others animated only by the love of adventure and the hope of future wealth.

Besides these gentlemen, such was the press of people anxious to embark, that it became necessary to hasten the sailing of the ships before the appointed time. As it was, instead of the 1000 men for which Mendoza had stipulated, upon the first muster of the people on the passage out, there were found to be 2500 Spaniards and 150 Germans on board, besides the crews of the fourteen ships

which composed the fleet, altogether the largest armament that had ever sailed from Spain for the Indies.

The fleet left San Lucar in August, 1534, and at that favourable season of the year had a good voyage out, touching at the Canaries, the Cape de Verds, and Rio de Janeiro for refreshments; but it was not unchequered with incidents which did but little honour to the Conquistadores. At the Canaries, some of the vessels which had put into Palma became involved in a serious dispute with the inhabitants, from the misconduct of Don Jorge de Mendoza, a relation of the Adelantado, who, having taken a liking for the daughter of a gentleman of that place, landed during the night with some of his worthless companions, and carried her off by force from her father's house, with a quantity of money and jewels. As soon as it was discovered, the ships were fired into, and would probably have been detained by the exasperated natives, but for the interposition of the captain of one of the King's ships, who had accidentally put in there on his way to Mexico, and who insisted upon Don Jorge's being put on shore with the damsel, to make the only reparation in his power by marrying her, the ceremony being performed with great pomp in presence of the Governor of the place, and of the principal officers of the fleet.

A more tragical scene occurred at Rio de Janeiro. The popularity amongst the people of the gallant Osorio seems to have excited the jealousy of the Adelantado, who on some frivolous pretext went so far as to order him to be placed under arrest. Being brought into his presence at his own request to justify himself from the unfounded charges which he understood had been made against him, the Adelantado gave way to great violence, and on Osorio's leaving him, made use of some hasty expression, which Ayolas, the Alguazil Mayor, unfortunately interpreting into an order to despatch him, drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. An attempt afterwards made to bring forward an accusation of traitorous intentions against him met with no credit; and such was the general disgust at this atrocious assassination, that many gentlemen refused to proceed further with the expe-

dition; whilst the excitement was so great amongst the soldiers, by whom Osorio was greatly beloved for his kindness and gallant bearing on all occasions, that Mendoza, to prevent worse consequences, was obliged to order the ships to put to sea again without delay.

They entered the Rio de la Plata in the month of January, 1535, where they found the Admiral Don Diego, who had preceded them, and who, struck with dismay on being informed of Osorio's death, is said, with an instinctive presentiment of its results, arising perhaps in part from a conviction of his own incapacity for the command, which in consequence devolved upon him, to have predicted the disastrous issue of the expedition,* and to have blamed his brother's conduct in no unmeasured terms.

The ships came to anchor off the Island of San Gabriel, and upon the little stream opposite, on the south side of the river, still called the Riachuelo, Mendoza at once commenced laying out his first settlement, named by him the port of Santa Maria de Buenos Ayres, in honour of the day, being the 2nd of February, and from the delightful climate, which at that season made a great impression upon his followers after their long voyage. But these agreeable sensations were soon dissipated. Upon disembarking the stores from the vessels, it was found that instead of the supplies of provisions for twelve months, which had been stipulated for, so great had been the consumption of them, by the unforeseen numbers on board, and so scanty the stock which remained, that it became necessary to reduce the daily rations to six ounces of biscuit to each individual; short allowance for men obliged, in addition to their ordinary duties, to labour at the erection of mud walls as a protection against the savages, of whose warlike character they were not long left in ignorance.

At first, partly from curiosity, and partly from awe of the numbers and warlike appearance of the Spaniards, the natives brought them supplies of flesh and fish; but so many hungry strangers were not easily satisfied, and after a time they gradually drew off to a distance. In some

* "Dios quiera que la ruina de todos, no sea un justo pago de la muerte de Osorio!"
—*Funes Hist.*

disputes which had arisen between them, they had discovered that the white men were mortal beings like themselves, and they prepared to try their strength if necessary against the invaders.

The opportunity soon offered : the Adelantado, thinking to terrify them into submission, and to oblige them to supply him with provisions, ordered out a force of 300 men with a small party of cavalry under his brother Don Diego, the Admiral, who marched into the country till he came in view of a vast number of Indians drawn out in martial array, and prepared to give the Spaniards battle upon the opposite side of a morass. It was a position taken up with great tact, as did not escape the notice of some old soldiers, who urged the Admiral to endeavour to draw them out from it before he commenced his attack.

Well would it have been for him had he done so ; but the eager old sailor, who had no idea that naked savages could offer any effectual resistance to an armed force of disciplined Europeans, would brook no delay, and ordered his men at once to advance. In doing so the foot-soldiers became almost immediately entangled in a marshy swamp, in which they were exposed to the missiles of their enemies, who attacked them with their formidable slings and bolas, and with such effect, that numbers of them were disabled before they could fire their arquebusses. The cavalry then, with Don Diego at their head, charged the savages ; but they, nothing daunted, immediately rallied, and surrounding Manrique, one of the Spanish cavaliers, overpowered and unhorsed him. An Indian in the act of decapitating him was slain by Don Diego, who had hurried to his rescue ; but the Admiral himself was immediately afterwards struck down by a ball from a sling, which hit him upon the chest and left him almost lifeless : in vain did a gallant gentleman, Don Pedro de Guzman, try to raise him up and place him upon his own horse ; both were overwhelmed in the act and slain by the savages.

The Indians retreated after nearly 1000 of them had been killed, leaving about 140 Spaniards in possession of the field, not one-half of the number that had gone into

the fight. Besides Don Diego de Mendoza, the Adelantado's brother, six gentlemen of distinction lost their lives in this first and disastrous encounter with the warlike Querandis.

This was a bad beginning for the Conquistadores, but it was nothing to what was to come. The Indians, after the battle, contented themselves for a time with watching the Spaniards from a distance, and preventing their obtaining any supplies—a course which soon reduced them to terrible straits. In vain were vessels sent out to the coast of Brazil and up the river in quest of food; before they could return the unfortunate settlers had suffered famine in all its most frightful horrors; many of the horses were eaten, then dogs, cats, and rats; when they were devoured, the soldiers ate their shoes and leathern accoutrements. Three men were hung for stealing a horse, and the next morning it was found that they had been cut down for food by their comrades; worse cases are recorded, almost too horrible to believe.

To any one who knows how all the vicinity teems with animal life and game of every description, flesh and fowl and fish, it seems almost incredible that more than 2500 well-armed European soldiers should have submitted to be thus pent up and starved alive by the wild savages of the Pampas. Nor was this all they had to suffer from them. Famine led to pestilence; and whilst the Spaniards were dying by hundreds, the half-starved survivors were suddenly assailed by a host of Indians, estimated at no less than 20,000, of various tribes, who had gradually been collecting from the interior to aid the Querandis against their common enemy, and who now, drawing round their fortification, threw into it their bolas with burning matches attached, which, falling upon the thatched roofs of the houses, soon set them on fire and destroyed them. Four small vessels, lying off the shore in the *Riachuelo*, were burnt in the same manner; but the others were fortunately able to bring their guns to bear upon the savages, and made such havoc amongst them that they were beaten off, though not before 30 Spaniards were killed.

In this conjuncture Ayolas, who commanded the foraging

party sent up the Paraná, most opportunely returned with a supply of food (maize), which he had obtained from the Timbú Indians, in the vicinity of the Carcaraña, the same people with whom Cabot had before established a friendly intercourse, and with whom Ayolas was so well pleased that he had left 100 of his men amongst them, building a new fort (Corpus Christi), in the neighbourhood of Cabot's original settlement of San Espiritú, which had been abandoned after his departure for Spain.

Thither the Adelantado now determined to remove with the remnant of his followers, and glad enough were they to quit Buenos Ayres, the scene of such terrible sufferings and disasters. Schmidel, one of the party, says, when they were mustered before their departure, there only remained, besides the 100 men up the river, of all that gallant company which had arrived not twelve months before from Spain, 560 individuals, and of those 60 died from exhaustion ere they could join their comrades at Corpus; nearly 2000 persons had perished.

From Corpus the Adelantado again despatched Ayolas with 300 men to explore the higher parts of the river, and to obtain, if possible, some information as to the practicability of passing on to Peru. But Ayolas did not come back; and Mendoza, after waiting for him nearly a year, disappointed in all his hopes, and worn out by bodily disease, and grief at the loss of his brother and so many gallant gentlemen, determined to return to Spain: he died (1557) broken-hearted on the voyage home, his last injunction being to send succours to the settlers he had left at Corpus. Well was it perhaps for him that he did not live to reach Spain to have to account for the disastrous consequences of his incapacity and mismanagement.

Before his departure he left an appointment for Ayolas to act as his lieutenant in the government, a man who, although brave and enterprising, had rendered himself an object of dislike and fear to his comrades from the part he had taken in the assassination of the gallant Osorio.

The secret instructions which Mendoza left for his guidance have been preserved,* and throw some light

* Herrera, Decade VI. lib. 3, cap. 17.

upon his own views, and what he was still hoping might result from an enterprise which had already cost so dear. Ayolas must have been not a little surprised at their contents, unless they had been pre-arranged with him, as seems most probable. "He was directed to proceed up the river as far as he could get with all the Spaniards under his command, and, after leaving a sufficient garrison in some stronghold there in order to secure his communications with the Rio de la Plata, he was to abandon or sink his ships, and to march, if he could, across the intervening continent to the shores of the Pacific Ocean." Rather a wild scheme, but for the context, which appears to explain what Mendoza was really aiming at.

Assuming that, in the execution of these orders, his lieutenant might fall in with Almagro or Pizarro, the Adelantado enjoins him in such case to do his best to keep on good terms with them, taking care, however, to hold his own, and to maintain his ground, if strong enough to do so, unless Almagro should agree to give him 150,000 golden ducats, as he had done under similar circumstances to Alvarado, the Governor of Guatemala, to induce him to retire from the inroad he had made into the Province of Quito, in which case, or even for 100,000 ducats, if he could get no more, Mendoza tells him he might agree to withdraw peaceably from their territories. Of whatever he could so obtain from Almagro, Ayolas was to have a tenth for himself, Mendoza undertaking to obtain the Emperor's sanction to the proceedings. Of any further plunder in the shape of gold and silver which he might obtain he was to have half, the rest to be divided amongst the other captains and their followers, after setting aside sufficient to repay the expenses incurred by Mendoza, who further begs that any jewels or precious stones which "God might throw in their way" should be reserved for him as some special compensation for his own personal exertions in originating the enterprise. Mixed up with instructions upon various other matters, he concludes by enjoining his lieutenant to be mindful in all his doings, first of his duty to God, and next of his obligations to him, Mendoza.

The Adelantado's notion of waylaying Almagro to obtain from him some portion of the spoils of Peru was evidently no new scheme, and appears from his own showing to have been suggested by the example of Alvarado's equally unscrupulous invasion of Quito, and his knowledge of the enormous sum which he had obtained from Almagro to secure his peaceable withdrawal from a territory which he had no other right than that of force ever to have entered.

The particulars of that singular episode in the history of the conquest of Peru had been brought to Spain just before the sailing of the expedition to the Rio de la Plata, and had created no little sensation, it may be presumed, amongst the reckless men about to embark for America to seek for wealth, regardless from whom or by what means it was obtained. Such were the Conquistadores, as ready to rob one another as to plunder the wretched Indians, if they could do so with any chance of impunity. Whether brought up in the more civilized usages of the court like Mendoza, or in the rough school of the soldier like the illiterate Pizarro, who could not write his own name, they were all alike rapacious and unscrupulous.

Whilst Mendoza was drawing up these instructions in the Rio de la Plata, 1537, Almagro was on his way back from his memorable expedition into Chile, disappointed in his own expectations of plunder, and preparing once more to dispute with Pizarro the possession of Cuzco, if not of Peru; and the probability is that, with nothing himself to give, had he fallen in with the followers of the Adelantado of the Rio de la Plata, both bent solely upon one and the same object, which it was now clear was only to be acquired in Peru, they would have united their forces, and might have placed the Pizarros in great difficulties.

But the followers of Mendoza were then in no condition to carry out any part of his orders. Juan de Ayolas, for whom, as has been already mentioned, they were especially intended, after fighting his way up the river as high as 21° S. lat., had there disembarked with 200 of his men,

and marched into the interior, never to return. From an Indian who escaped, accounts were subsequently received that the whole party, after obtaining a rich booty from some of the tribes bordering on Peru, had been treacherously massacred on their way back by the Payagúa Indians.

Yrala, who commanded the vessels which had taken them up the river, after waiting for them in vain for nine months, had been forced, from want of provisions and the state of the vessels, which were opening at every seam from exposure to the sun, to proceed down the river again to Paraguay, the people of which, after a signal victory obtained over them by Ayolas in his way up the river the year before, had promised fealty and obedience to the Conquistadores.

There, whilst the Spaniards were engaged in strengthening their position at Assumption, to their great joy the ships arrived from Spain, which had been despatched in consequence of Mendoza's dying injunctions, with necessities of all kinds, besides a reinforcement of 200 men, and supplies enough to last them two years. Nor were the spiritual wants of the settlers on this occasion lost sight of: together with the means of celebrating Divine Service, several Franciscan friars were sent out to them by the Emperor's particular direction. He also at the same time desired a free pardon to be promulgated in favour of some unhappy wretches who, it was understood, were living as outcasts from their Christian comrades, under ban of punishment for having, during the prevalence of the dire famine at Buenos Ayres, lived like cannibals on human flesh.

About the same time Francisco Ruiz, the officer whom Mendoza had left in charge of the shipping at Buenos Ayres, with orders to forward his instructions to Ayolas, had come to the determination to proceed himself in search of him with the people left under his command; these, about 150 in number, with the garrison of Corpus which he also took up with him, reached Paraguay shortly after the vessels from Spain, and thus were collected together at Assumption the whole of the Spaniards in the Rio de la Plata—in all, about 600 individuals.

The Emperor had given orders that, in the event of the death of Mendoza's lieutenant, the settlers were to assemble and elect their own governor, pending his pleasure; and as there was no longer any doubt as to the fate of Ayolas, they proceeded to do so. Their choice fell almost unanimously upon Don Domingo Martinez de Yrala, who was in all due form proclaimed Captain-General of the Rio de la Plata (August, 1538).*

Buenos Ayres was totally abandoned, and Assumption, which was made the seat of government, under his vigorous rule soon became a place of importance.

* "Porque siempre se habia mostrado justo y benévolo, especialmente con los soldados."—*Schmidel*, cap. 26.



The first Settlement at Buenos Ayres attacked by the Indians in 1535. From a print published by Schmidel (who was there at the time).

CHAPTER III.

1538—1550.

Yrala — The Spaniards in Paraguay intermarry with the Guarani Women — Consequences — Cabeza de Vaca appointed Adelantado — His extraordinary March across Brazil — Subdues the Guaycurús — Expedition up the Paraguay River — Reaches the Xarayes, and obliged to return — Conspiracy against him — Is deposed and sent back to Spain — Yrala re-elected Governor — Succeeds in reaching Peru — Is ordered back by the President La Gasca.

So far the Conquistadores had little but an empty name to boast of. In the four years they had been in the Rio de la Plata, from the mismanagement and incapacity of the Adelantado and his officers, they had experienced nothing but disasters, defeat, and disappointment. Under such circumstances it was a fortunate provision of the Emperor's which left to their own choice the selection of the individual best qualified to direct their future proceedings.

Yrala, their new Governor, was in many respects well worthy the confidence so unanimously reposed in him. He was a gentleman by birth, from Vergara in Spain, brought up in the military service, and distinguished amongst his comrades by his soldier-like qualities. He had proved himself an enterprising and indefatigable commander—kind and considerate to his people, and abounding in those daring and generous feelings most likely to endear him to his followers. His personal prowess was something marvellous, and had been signalised on various occasions, but especially in a late encounter with the Payagúas, the most warlike enemies the Spaniards had yet met with, in which he had slain with his own hand no less than twelve of their warriors, who had furiously fallen upon him at once in the hope of overpowering him by main force. His first object was to strengthen and secure the settlement which he (or rather Ayolas) had commenced at Assumption. The lines of a city were laid

out, a church and other public buildings were erected, a police was established, and the groundwork laid of the first municipal institutions in that part of South America.

The position of the Spaniards at Assumption was a great improvement on their late condition at Buenos Ayres. Instead of starving, they found themselves in a land abounding with the necessaries of life. The natives of Paraguay, more civilised than the nomade inhabitants of the Pampas, whose sole subsistence was on fish and the deer which they caught with their slings and bolas, were an industrious race, cultivating their lands, and growing for their own use large quantities of maize, of casava, and of the batate or sweet potato; they had fish and fowl, and the flesh of a great variety of wild animals, in abundance; plenty of honey, of which, as well as of the casava, they made a fermented liquor; and cotton, of which their women wove cloth sufficient to provide them with the light and scanty covering required in that hot climate.

All these were at the disposal of the Spaniards, whose superiority, after some ineffectual attempts at resistance, being fully established, the submissive natives resigned themselves and all that belonged to them to the mercies of the conquerors.

They worked heartily at the fortifications which were to perpetuate their own subjection, and as the walls rose above their own heads, so no doubt did their respect for their new masters.

The Spaniards repaid them by parcelling out their lands, and taking their daughters to live with them; and although at first these unions, as may be supposed, were of a very irregular character, there is no doubt they contributed materially to secure the permanent establishment of the dominion of the conquerors. The simple natives, who regarded them as a superior race, were rather eager than averse to cultivate such connexions, believing that any ties which allied them to the white men would add to their own importance. Nor were they mistaken: the irresistible growth of female influence, seconded by a rising generation in whose behalf the voice of nature spoke in every house, soon produced their natural effects upon

the relative position of the conquerors and their new vassals, greatly to the advantage of the latter. The Spaniards, anxious to promote the interests of their offspring, secured for them a participation in their own rights and privileges: they bequeathed to them their names and possessions; and thus the children of the Guarani women became not only a numerous but a very influential class in the lands of their Indian ancestors. What is still more remarkable, they have perpetuated their own language amongst the descendants of the conquerors, and to this day Guarani, almost to the exclusion of Spanish, is spoken by all classes throughout Paraguay.

The Spaniards had been little more than a year established at Assumption when the whole colony was saved, by the devotion of one of these women, from a conspiracy to massacre them, got up by the caciques of some neighbouring tribes. Invited by the Spaniards to witness the ceremonies of the holy week, which they were preparing to celebrate with all the splendour in their power, they introduced some hundreds of their followers into the city, intending to fall upon the Spaniards whilst engaged in their devotions on Good Friday, when they calculated on their being unarmed and unprepared to resist them. The plot was well laid, and for a short time was kept secret with Indian fidelity, whilst the Spaniards, entirely off their guard, and only thinking of the ceremonies in which they were engaged, were rather gratified than otherwise at the number of their visitors, who they probably regarded as so many converts in prospect to Christianity.

But, as the day drew on, the Indian lover of a Guarani girl, who was living with one of the Spanish captains, sought her out and urged her to fly with him from the impending danger, to satisfy her of the extent of which he revealed to her the whole plot, and the hour and manner of its intended execution. Alarmed more for her master's safety than her own, after extracting from her countryman all he knew, the girl feigned compliance with his wishes, and, hurrying home under pretence of securing her child and some trinkets, gave full warning to the Spaniards of their danger, and then returned to the In-

dian to lull his suspicions, if he had entertained any, at her absence.

Yrala lost not a moment upon receiving the information, and took his measures so well that he managed to secure the persons of the principal caciques in the conspiracy, and before their followers could attempt to rescue them, the leaders were examined, convicted, and executed at the very hour they had fixed upon for the massacre of the Spaniards.

The promptitude with which this plot was put down by Yrala struck terror into all the Indians, who attributed its discovery to the supernatural powers inherent in the white man.

Whilst Yrala was engaged in settling his people and completing the conquest of Paraguay, Don Alvaro Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, who had returned to Spain after a long captivity amongst the cannibal Indians of Florida, nothing daunted by the disastrous issue of Mendoza's enterprise, solicited to be appointed his successor in the Adelantazgo of the Rio de la Plata, offering to expend 8000 golden ducats in the equipment of a new armament in aid of the settlers already established there; and the Emperor accepting his proposals, vessels were purchased, and 400 soldiers with 46 horses embarked, amply provided with everything they were likely to stand in need of.* This expedition sailed on the 2nd November, 1540, from Spain, but from various detentions at the Canaries and the Cape de Verdes did not reach St. Catherine's till the end of the month of March following (1541). A story is told that off the coast of Brazil the Spaniards were marvellously preserved from shipwreck by the instinct of a ground-cricket, brought on board by a sick sailor to amuse him, and which, after a silence of more than two months, began one night to chirp so vociferously as to attract the attention of the crew, some of whom going on deck discovered the shore immediately a-head, upon which they were on the point of running, and must inevitably have perished but for the

* Amongst other stipulations of the Asiento made with Cabeza de Vaca, the prohibition against taking out lawyers or attorneys to South America is worth notice, as well as the reason for it:—"Mandóse, que no hubiese letrados ni procu-

radores, porque la experiencia habia mostrado que en las tierras nuevamente pobladas se seguian muchas diferencias y pleitos, por su causa."—*Herrera*, Dec. VII. lib. 2, cap. 8.

warning voice of their little friend, whose more sensitive perception of the vicinity of land saved them from the impending danger.

At St. Catherine's they were joined by some runaways from the Rio de la Plata, who gave them the first account of the death of Ayolas, and of the removal of the whole of the Spaniards up the river to Assumption. This intelligence, coupled with such further accounts as he could collect, determined Cabeza de Vaca to make the bold attempt to reach the Spanish settlements in Paraguay by crossing the intervening countries direct from where he was, instead of proceeding by the more circuitous and tedious navigation up the Plata and Paraná: an undertaking which was accomplished with remarkable success, and which is deservedly considered as one of the most memorable events in the annals of the Conquest.

Sending the vessels, under the command of Don Philip de Caceres, round by the Paraná, with orders to meet him at Assumption, he landed 250 of his best men with 20 horses and some brood mares at the river Itabucú, on the main land a little to the north of St. Catherine's, whence, under the guidance of a number of Indians, who offered to lead the way, he commenced his march into the interior (on the 2nd November, 1541).

After nineteen days of incessant toil and labour spent in making their way through dense forests and across the mountains which bound the coast, the Spaniards came in view of a vast expanse of rich plains, stretching as far as they could see, and watered by the great river Iguaçu, or Curitibá, running in a westerly direction. These plains were studded with the villages of the Guaranis, who came forth to receive the strangers with wonder not unmixed with fear, soon, however, changed to delight when the Spaniards offered them the presents they had brought with them; in return the Indians supplied them with maize, casava, and fowls and ducks of their own rearing. The sight of the horses caused them the greatest astonishment and alarm; they made long harangues to the animals, promising to feed them with fowls and honey, the choicest food they had to offer.

Cabeza de Vaca's past experience of Indian wants and habits was of the greatest service to him throughout this remarkable journey ; he knew that in their eyes the most precious of all gifts were knives, scissors, hatchets, arrow-heads, and such articles, to supply them with which he carried with him a portable forge, and every man, in addition to his own baggage, was loaded with a small quantity of bar-iron, to be worked up as it was wanted. So eager were the savages to obtain these articles, that they came from far and near to give the Spaniards every assistance they could in exchange for them. Charmed with the country and its docile people, Cabeza de Vaca took formal possession of it in right of first discovery for the Crown of Spain, calling it the province of *Vera* (from his own family name).

Proceeding in a north-westerly direction, on the 14th December the party found themselves in S. lat. $24^{\circ} 30'$ by an observation taken by one of the pilots who accompanied them ; thereabouts, also, they fell in, to their great joy, with a converted Indian named Miguel, returning to his own country from Paraguay, where he had been living amongst the Spaniards, of whom he was able to give an account, which was of the greatest interest to them. He offered himself to return with them, and so settled all doubt which might have existed as to the possibility of their reaching Assumption.

Amongst other food brought them by the natives was a paste made from the pine-nuts, the trees producing which were of so large a girth in some places that four men, with their arms extended, could barely span them ; straight and tall in proportion, they appeared to them the finest timber they had ever seen. The nuts fed vast quantities of monkeys and wild swine, between whom a continual warfare was carried on, which amused the Spaniards not a little : the pigs gave chase to the monkeys, who, running up the trees, pelted them with the cones, the contents of which they greedily devoured ; in vain the monkeys rushed down to share at least in the repast of their own providing—they were as quickly obliged to take to flight again, to fight the same battle over again from the trees, to the great satisfac-

tion of the pigs below. No din could be more discordant than the shrill screaming of thousands of these monkeys on the one side, and the hoarse gruntings of their greedy adversaries on the other.

For six weeks the Spaniards held their course onwards through the same well watered and abundant country, amply supplied with all they wanted; the rivers abounded with fish, and the plains with game of all kinds—deer, swine, pheasants, and partridges—of which they took as many as they could eat. The aspect of the country then became less inviting, and for some days their progress was impeded by swamps overgrown with gigantic canes, through which they had great difficulty in forcing their way; what was worse, there being no inhabitants, they found themselves for the first time without provisions—the only food they could find in this desert district being large fat grubs, or maggots, as big as a man's finger, of which there were plenty in the canes, and which, when fried, were not unpalatable.

After crossing the Pequiri river, on the 31st January, 1542, they once more came upon the Iguaçu, in S. lat. $25^{\circ} 30'$, where finding the natives provided with canoes, Cabeza de Vaca collected enough of them to embark all his men (except those with the horses, who proceeded along the shore), and descended the stream to its confluence with the Paraná in $24^{\circ} 5'$: there they found a large assemblage of Indians, armed with bows and arrows and gaudily painted and decked out with plumes of parrots' feathers, who at first seemed inclined to dispute their progress; but Cabeza de Vaca opened a parley with their caciques, and the sight of some red caps and other presents soon conciliated them, and obtained their assistance in constructing rafts whereon to cross the Paraná, which was there deep and rapid, and a good bow-shot across.

The Paraná passed, all difficulty of any consequence was at an end; the sick were sent round to Assumption by water, under the charge of Nuflo de Chaves; and Cabeza de Vaca, marching along the river Monday with the rest of his people, entered Paraguay, where, as he advanced towards Assumption, the natives, many of whom

spoke Spanish, came forth to welcome him, and render him assistance in crossing the swamps and morasses of Paraguay, the only remaining impediments he had to encounter.* The Spaniards also, apprised of his approach, sent forward a deputation to meet him, and to conduct him to Assumption, where he made his entry on the 11th March, 1542, amidst the rejoicings of the inhabitants.

The whole distance marched was calculated by the Adelantado at 400 leagues; it probably was not much less than 1000 miles, and was accomplished in 130 days; and when it is considered that this march was effected through a country totally unknown, full of inhabitants whom the slightest want of prudence on the part of their commander might have raised against them, to the annihilation of all their resources; and further, that it was accomplished with the loss of only one man, who was accidentally drowned by the oversetting of a canoe in crossing the Paraná, it must be acknowledged that it reflected great credit on Cabeza de Vaca, and was a striking evidence of what might be done by patience and perseverance, and conciliatory conduct towards the natives. With ten times the numerical force, what a different result had attended Mendoza's expedition, from want of common prudence in his conduct towards the aborigines!

Unfortunately for himself, Cabeza de Vaca's administrative measures were not equally successful; the severe trials which he had endured during his ten years' captivity among the Caribs of Florida had left him imbued with a deep sense of his religious duties, and a strong desire to ameliorate as far as possible the state of the Indians. With such feelings, he was not a little disgusted at the uncontrolled licentiousness in which he found the Spaniards living at Assumption, so much at variance with the better example which he was anxious to inculcate; but his exertions to produce a reformation in their morals met with little success, whilst the pains he took to give importance

* "Salian al camino muchos Indios con bastimento dandole la enhorabuena de su llegada en lengua Castellana; fué recibido con singular contento de los Capitanes, y de toda la gente Castellana,

que se admiró como hubiese tan pacíficamente caminado tantas leguas por entre Indios."—*Herrera*, Dec. VII. lib. 4, cap. 13.

to the priests and friars by consulting with them on matters of temporal as well as spiritual importance to the colony soon caused murmurings and dissatisfaction amongst the Captains of the Conquistadores, and particularly amongst the officers who held special appointments from the Crown, who were little disposed to brook any interference in matters over which they considered that they had sole authority.

Yrala had completed the subjugation of the Guaraní tribes in Paraguay, but it was still requisite to take measures to protect them against their more warlike neighbours the Agaces and the Guaycurús, whose predatory inroads into their territories kept them in continual alarm and disquietude. The former were called by the Spaniards, the Pirates; they called themselves the Lords and Masters of the River Paraguay, the passage of which they had bravely disputed against Cabot as well as Ayolas, with great loss of life to the Spaniards on both occasions.

The Guaycurús were acknowledged to be the most warlike of all the Indian nations in those parts; they lived on the opposite side of the river, in the Gran Chaco, that immense territory lying west of the river Paraguay, watered by the rivers Pilcomayo and Vermejo, where the native Indians took refuge from the conquerors, and where to this day they live in a state of undisturbed independence. There they subsisted chiefly by hunting and by the plunder of their more industrious neighbours, the Guaranís, whom they robbed of their maize and other fruits of the soil, which they were themselves too proud to cultivate. They boasted that they had never been beaten in battle, and defied the Guaranís to bring over their Spanish allies, if they dared, to attack them.

It was high time to put a stop to such insolence, and to give their enemies as well as their friends some convincing proof of the superiority of their arms, and the Adelantado determined to do so in person. Taking with him 200 foot-soldiers and some horsemen, and a large number of Guaranís, who were eager to witness the slaughter of their enemies, he crossed the Paraguay, and by night-

marches surprised the Guaycurús in their encampments before they had time to prepare either for flight or defence. Nevertheless they made a desperate resistance, nor did they acknowledge that they were defeated till after a great slaughter had been made amongst them, and some hundreds of their women and children were secured as prisoners. The sight of the horses, rendered more formidable by their war-trappings covered with bells, contributed greatly to the victory of the Spaniards, and, coming unawares upon a people who had never seen such creatures before, may well be supposed to have created a panic amongst them.

Cabeza de Vaca returned with his prisoners to Assumption, whither he was soon followed by an embassy from the Guaycurús, to solicit their release, and to tender their humble submission to the white men, whose superiority they fully admitted, promising to do homage to them, and never again to molest either them or the Guaranis under their protection. The Adelantado, having gained his object, that of impressing them with a due sense of the power of the Spaniards, received them kindly, gave them back their wives and children, and dismissed them with presents, which they little expected. His clemency made a lasting impression upon them, and excited no small surprise amongst savages unaccustomed to such treatment from their enemies.

The Agaces also, and some other tribes, gave in their submission, seeing that the Guaycurús, the most warlike nation among them, had been so effectually humbled.

The Adelantado's followers who had been sent round by sea from St. Catherine's did not reach Paraguay till eight months after him: in passing up the Paraná it is recorded that they experienced on the eve of All Saints the effects of a terrible earthquake, a very rare occurrence in those regions. The vessels had been brought to anchor for the night, and some of them made fast to the trees under shelter of some projecting heights on the banks of the Paraná, when suddenly the land seemed to heave and roll like the waves of the sea, the trees which grew upon

the banks of the river were thrown into the stream, and the banks themselves, becoming loosened and detached, fell down upon the vessels: one was completely overturned, and carried for half a league down the stream; the rest were all more or less seriously damaged, and, what was worse, fourteen persons lost their lives: the survivors described it as the most awful and terrific scene they had ever witnessed.

The Adelantado now prepared in earnest to carry out the great object of his appointment—the opening of a communication with Peru. With this view he had already despatched Yrala once more to make a careful exploration of the higher parts of the river, in order to ascertain, if possible, if there might not be some better way of reaching the interior than that followed by Ayolas. He returned about the middle of February (1543), having gone as far north as the commencement of the lagunes of Xarayes, in S. lat. 18°, which it cost him three months' hard labour to accomplish. The intelligence which he there obtained from the Chanés Indians, and an examination he made himself of the country for some distance, satisfied him that it was the best as well as nearest point from which to start any expedition destined for Peru. The Indians showed a friendly disposition, and readily offered themselves as guides, and their villages seemed to abound with provisions: they also exhibited to Yrala some gold and silver ornaments—a still further incitement to exploration in that direction.

Upon this information, Cabeza de Vaca, leaving Yrala to command in his absence, left Assumption in September (1543), with a force of 400 Spaniards, accompanied by 1200 Guaranis and a large fleet of their canoes loaded with supplies of every kind.

But on this occasion the Adelantado's good fortune seems to have abandoned him: the expedition not only failed in its main object, but was attended with very disastrous and unexpected consequences. He had lost so much time in parleys with the various Indian tribes on the way that, when they reached the Port de los Reyes on the Xarayes, as the place of their debarkation was

named, the rainy season was just about commencing, during which, for months, the lands in those parts, for a vast extent, are covered with water, and rendered totally impassable for man or beast. Cabeza de Vaca made an attempt, with 300 of his people, to penetrate into the interior, but was forced, from want of supplies, to retrace his steps. Other efforts, made by some of his officers, to explore the country in different directions were equally fruitless. In the mean time the periodical inundations commenced, and, covering the country with water and miasma, caused fever and agues and great sickness amongst the people; myriads of musquitoes tormented them incessantly, and the vampires attacked them by night with terrible effect. The Adelantado himself woke one morning bleeding so severely from the bite of one of these creatures that at first he believed he had been stabbed by an assassin. He was very sick with the fever, and the greater part of the soldiers completely prostrated. There were no provisions to be had, and the state of the people became daily more distressing. Nevertheless the Adelantado would have remained where he was till the waters subsided, in order to renew his examination of the country, but the people would not hear of it, and insisted upon being taken back at once to Paraguay, whither he was obliged in very ill-humour to return with them.

Before re-embarking, he thought fit to issue an order that about a hundred Indian women should be restored to their families, who on their first arrival had been brought by their parents to take up their abode with the Spaniards;—an order which so exasperated the men, already disgusted with the expedition, that they were with difficulty restrained from at once throwing off their obedience to him. They reached Assumption in April (1544) in high dudgeon, and greatly dissatisfied with their commander.

Unfortunately for him, during his absence other persons, and especially the King's officers, headed by Caceres, the Contador, had been working at Assumption to discredit his measures and to undermine his authority. They had been irritated by some disputes with him as to their rights and perquisites before his departure, and now, emboldened

by the disaffection of the soldiery, they broke into open rebellion. Taking advantage of the absence of Yrala, who had gone upon an expedition against the Indians of Acay, a party of 200 of the conspirators had the hardihood, in open day, to arrest Cabeza de Vaca in his own house, whilst he was confined to his bed by sickness, and to place him in confinement, and even in irons, till they could send him to Spain for trial upon charges of mal-administration, which, to quiet the people, they gave out they were preparing to send home against him.

His followers and partisans, too feeble to make any open resistance, were soon overawed by the brutality of the conspirators; whilst the unfortunate Adelantado found to his cost that he had made enemies who were inexorable, and so unscrupulous that he was fortunate perhaps in escaping with his life. Ill as he was, he was thrown into an unwholesome prison, strictly debarred from all intercourse with his personal friends, and watched by guards who were ordered to put him to death if any attempt should be made to rescue him. Thus he was kept for ten months, ere the vessel sailed which was to convey him to Spain: he was then delivered over to the charge of two of his most inveterate enemies, Cabrera the Veedor and Vanega the Treasurer, deputed by the conspirators to support the accusations against him which they had addressed to the Emperor.

These men, in the course of the voyage home, during a violent tempest, are said to have been touched with some remorse for their severity towards the unfortunate prisoner, to have released him from his chains, and even to have solicited his pardon for the part they had taken against him. Both met with an untimely end shortly after their arrival; Cabrera went mad, and his colleague, Vanega, was carried off suddenly in a fit. The Adelantado himself, after being kept for eight years in suspense as to the decision of the Council of the Indies, to whom his case was referred, was at length released from arrest, and declared absolved from the charges brought against him; but he was not permitted to return to South America, neither was any compensation made to him for the loss of

a considerable amount of property which had been taken from him by the King's officers at Assumption.

In Paraguay, after the deposition of Cabeza de Vaca, the people were assembled to proceed, as on the former occasion, to the election of a Governor pending the Emperor's pleasure, and once more Yrala was chosen, by a large majority of votes, to fill the vacant office. He was so ill at the time that he had already received extreme unction, and when the notification was made to him of his election, he only prayed that he might be excused the honour, on the ground that he was not in a state to think of any further matters connected with this world. The people, however, would take no refusal; and as he was urged to accept the appointment, not only by his own friends, but by those of the Adelantado, under the circumstances he allowed himself, when sufficiently recovered, to be carried in a chair into the public square, where he took the necessary oaths, and was once more proclaimed Governor of the Province (April, 1544).

Men's minds, however, were very unsettled by these events, and Yrala had enough to do for some time to keep peace in the colony. The Indians also, observing the dissensions amongst the Spaniards, availed themselves of the opportunity to rise in revolt against their authority, and to put them down effectually Yrala was obliged to take the field with an imposing force. They fought desperately, and would not give in till more than 2000 of them were slain and many more made prisoners by the Spaniards. The slaughter was the greater from the circumstance of the Spaniards having on their side the warlike Yaporús, whose practice in battle was to decapitate their captives, in order to parade their hairy scalps, like the North American Indians, as trophies of victory. The surviving captives were distributed amongst the soldiery by Yrala, whose conduct in this respect, as contrasted with that of his predecessor, gained him their good will, and made them his obedient followers in another attempt which he was now projecting to realize the great problem still to be solved, of the possibility of reaching the Empire of the Incas from the Rio de la Plata.

The attempts hitherto made had not been without their fruits, and the soldiers, as well as their captains, were now pretty well familiarised with what they were to expect from such an undertaking. The nature of the difficulties to be overcome was no longer unknown. The country to be traversed had been already explored for some distance, the character of the people had been ascertained, and all the vicissitudes of the climate and its effects had been experienced. The thirst for gold, the first and principal incitement to action, had been rather increased than lessened by all they had learned; and it seemed only requisite now that they should be led on by a commander in whom they had full confidence, as they had in Yrala, to insure eventual success, if it was to be obtained by human exertions.

Four times had Yrala ascended the river Paraguay nearly throughout its whole navigable extent. For nearly 150 leagues above Assumption he knew every tribe on its shores, and every point which presented either difficulties or facilities for such an undertaking. His determination therefore to prosecute the discovery was felt to be taken on good grounds, and, when publicly announced, the only difficulty which arose was as to who were to be left behind.

Naming Don Francisco de Mendoza to act for him at Assumption, he started in the month of August, 1548, with 350 followers, 130 of whom were horsemen, and 2000 Guaranis. This time they disembarked in the vicinity of the Sierra San Fernando, opposite to what is called the Pan d'Azucar, or Sugar-loaf Hill, in lat. 21° , whence marching across the country of the Chiquitos in a north-westerly direction for between 300 and 400 miles, they struck the great river Guapey or Grande, upon the frontiers of the Province of Charcas, a branch of the river Madeira, which falls into the Amazons. There some Indians came forth from their village to meet them, bidding them welcome, to their amazement, in the Spanish language. From them they learned that they had at last reached the confines of Peru. These Indians were in the service of Don Pedro Anzures, who ten years before (in 1538) had founded the city of Chuquisaca in the province of Charcas.

Some writers have described this expedition of Yrala as attended with unexampled difficulties and all kinds of hardships and privations ; but this is not borne out by Schmidel, who was of the party, and who has given a very particular and circumstantial narrative of it from first to last. According to his account, notwithstanding their numbers, the people were never without a good supply of food, of which they found abundance amongst all the tribes they fell in with. The country was for the most part found to be fertile, and abounding with all kinds of game ; the Indians were located in villages, cultivating maize and casava and other roots and fruits of the soil, and with quantities of domestic poultry—fowls, ducks, geese, &c.—in their houses ; water was in some places scarce, but the Indians showed them a species of agavé (?), the leaves of which when tapped afforded enough to quench their thirst ;* the locusts, also, in some parts had laid waste the lands, and as they approached the river Guapey they had to cross some extensive plains covered with salt as white as snow as far as the eye could reach (Salinas), where of course there was nothing to eat or drink ; but in general the Indians were submissive, and voluntarily brought them such supplies as they stood in need of ; and though some tribes, armed with bows and poisoned arrows, attempted to impede their progress, they were easily defeated, and always made to suffer dearly for their resistance. The soldiers in such cases, unrestrained by their commander, took all the licence of war, slaughtering and making slaves of the men, carrying off their wives and daughters, and pillaging and destroying their habitations.

Schmidel gives an account of one of their forays, in which he was himself personally engaged. The Spaniards had been in chase of some treacherous Imbayás, who had attacked them in the night : he says, “Three days afterwards we came unexpectedly upon a tribe living in a wood with their wives and children ; they were not the people we were in pursuit of, but allies of theirs, who had not

* “Morian de sed algunos de los nuestros, si en este viage no encontráramos una raiz que estaba fuera de la tierra de que salian grandes hojas, en que habia agua,

tan firme como en un vaso, que no se derramaba, ni facilmente se consumia, y tendria cada una medio quartillo.” — Schmidel, cap. xlvii.

the least idea of our intention to attack them ; nevertheless we fell upon them, and killed and captured about 3000, and if it had not been nightfall not one would have escaped. I got for my own share nineteen men and some women, not old ones, and other things."

The Indians, in revenge for these cruelties, put to death three unfortunate Spaniards, who had been residing with them ever since the expedition of Ayolas years before, having been left among them sick when he was returning from his inroad into the interior ; some prisoners afterwards made by Yrala mentioned the particulars, adding that one of them was a trumpeter, by name Gonzalez : a proof that Ayolas had got so far.

The Spaniards in Paraguay had been so long without intelligence from any other part of the world, that they were in total ignorance of the stirring events which had taken place in Peru. They now, for the first time, were apprised of the civil war between Almagro and Pizarro, and its disastrous consequences ; of the execution of the former and the assassination of the latter ; and of the still more astounding news of the subsequent rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, which had just been put down by that extraordinary man La Gasca, who was then at Lima, occupied in completing his measures for the pacification and settlement of the country.

Yrala soon received intimation that he had better not advance further till he had communicated with the President ; he therefore halted his men, and sent forward a deputation, under Nuflo de Chaves, to apprise La Gasca of his proceedings, and to make him a tender of his own services with those of the men of the Rio de la Plata in aid of the King's authority.

La Gasca received his messengers very kindly at Lima, but seems to have been only anxious to get rid as speedily as possible of such unexpected visitors. With that object he sent a civil answer to Yrala, thanking him for his offer of service, but desiring him on no account to advance further into Peru, apprehensive lest his followers might fall in with some of the discomfited adherents of Gonzalo Pizarro, and cause fresh disturbances ; which by all ac-

counts they were quite ready to do, especially when informed of the President's prohibition against their entry into the land they had reached with so much toil and labour, and which had for so many years been the object of all their hopes and wishes.

Yrala himself had further cause for dissatisfaction from La Gasca's assuming, in virtue of the extraordinary powers with which he was invested, to confer the government of Paraguay upon old Diego Centeno, who had been of such service to him in putting down the late rebellion: fortunately for Yrala he was then on his death-bed at Chiquisaca, and it seems doubtful if he ever was aware of his appointment; the President did not think fit to name any one else, and Yrala prepared, in obedience to his orders, to retrace his steps to Assumption, his people most unwillingly following him.

A year and a half was spent in this expedition, the results of which, Schmidel says, "instead of gold and silver, were 12,000 Indian women and youths, whom the Spaniards carried off with them as slaves;" fifty fell to Schmidel's share as a volunteer.

What was of more importance, perhaps, to the people of Paraguay were some European sheep and goats, which they had purchased of their countrymen in Peru*—the first ever seen in that country; three years afterwards the first horned cattle were carried to them from the coast of Brazil, the origin of that mighty stock which constitutes the present wealth of the people of the Rio de la Plata.

Yrala found everything in disorder at Assumption from the belief, occasioned by his long absence, that he had met with the same fate as Ayolas, and had been cut off by the Indians; in consequence of which there had been a struggle for the government, in which his lieutenant, Mendoza, had been killed by the partisans of Abreu, who had taken his place, and was now driven out in his turn, and shortly after put to death. It was not without difficulty that Yrala settled these disputes; he did so at last

* They were very scarce at that time even in Peru, where sheep were sold at from 40 to 50 dollars each.

at some personal sacrifice—for he gave two of his own daughters in marriage to the principal chiefs of the party opposed to him, Don Francisco Ortiz de Vergara and Don Alonzo Riquelme de Guzman, the father of Ruy-Diaz, the historian of the Conquest.

CHAPTER IV.

1550—1620.

Conquest of La Guayrá — Yrala confirmed in his Government — Divides the Indians amongst the Conquerors, and regulates their Services — His Death — Succeeded by Vergara — Nuflo de Chaves founds Santa Cruz de la Sierra — Persuades Vergara to proceed to Peru — The Viceroy supersedes him, and appoints Zarate in his place — Caceres, his Lieutenant, is opposed by the Bishop, and sent out of Paraguay — Zarate reaches Assumption and dies — De Garay made Lieutenant-Governor — Founds the present City of Buenos Ayres in 1580 — Is slain by the Savages — Establishment of the Government of the Rio de la Plata in 1620.

PERU being closed against him by La Gasca's orders, Yrala turned his views to fresh conquests in the opposite direction, on the side of Brazil. Crossing Paraguay, he passed the Paraná above the grand falls, and ascended its left bank as far as the Tiété, whence he overran the whole of the province of La Guayrá, striking terror into the Tupi Indians, who had been in the habit of making inroads into the lands of the Guaranis to carry them off and sell them as slaves to the Portuguese upon the coast; as a further check to which he founded a Spanish settlement on the eastern shore of the Paraná, to which he gave the name of Ontiveros (1554).

The encroachments of the Portuguese slave-hunters in that quarter already menaced to interfere with the settlements of the Spaniards, and Yrala, upon his return to Assumption, despatched an agent to Spain urging attention to the fact, and at the same time submitting to the Emperor a full report of his own proceedings, and of the state and prospects of the colonies of Paraguay.

The Emperor had appointed, in place of Cabeza de Vaca, another Adelantado for the Rio de la Plata, Don Juan de Sanabria: but as if some fatality attended that

title, after making preparations for his departure he fell sick and died; and now the long and important services of Yrala could no longer be overlooked: on two occasions he had been chosen Governor by the unanimous voice of the colonists, and although twice he had been superseded when he little expected it, first by Cabeza de Vaca, and afterwards by La Gasca's appointment of Diego Centeno, he had under all trials and circumstances shown himself an obedient and loyal subject of the Crown: by his vigorous measures he had completed the conquest of all Paraguay, and had extended the influence, if not the authority, of the Spanish arms as far as the confines of Peru on the one side, and the coast of Brazil on the other. The Emperor did but justice to his deserts, however late, in ratifying the choice of the colonists, and in sending him in all due form his appointment as Governor and Captain General over all the countries he had taken possession of for the Crown. Early in 1555 he received his public commission by the hands of Father Pedro de la Torre, who in that year was sent out as the first titular Bishop of Paraguay, with a large retinue of priests and friars, to the great joy of the colonists, who were much in need of such spiritual aid.

Their arrival had been for some time expected: reports of the Bishop's appointment had preceded him, and long before he reached Assumption it was known that the ships had entered the Rio de la Plata, through the Indians, who had forwarded the intelligence from tribe to tribe across the intermediate countries by telegraphic signals known only to themselves, and carried on by means of fires by night and smoke by day.*

The Governor himself went forth to meet him upon his landing, and, falling upon his knees, kissed his hands, and humbly solicited his benediction before all the people.

* "Muchos dias habia que se tenia noticia por via de los Indios de abajo como habian llegado de Castilla ciertos navios á la boca del Rio de la Plata; cuya nueva se tenia por cierta, puesto que la distancia del camino era grande, y por la facilidad con que los naturales de aquel rio se dan aviso unos á otros por humaredas y fuegos con que se entienden."—*Argentina*, cap. xvi., page 106.

These telegraphic means of communication in use amongst the Indians of the Paraná caused no less wonder amongst the Spaniards of Paraguay than did the establishment of regular posts and running couriers to their countrymen in Peru long before any such rapid means of communication were in use in any part of Europe.

The difficult task now devolved upon Yrala of parcelling out amongst the Spaniards the subjugated Indians, of whom there were from 50,000 to 60,000, with their families, in Paraguay alone, who were to be apportioned amongst those who had taken part in the conquest of the country, according to their services. They were about 400 in number; and in proportion as their original hopes of plunder and of gold and silver had failed, so the produce of the conquered lands and the personal services of the natives to cultivate them became of more importance to them. They were, in fact, the only recompense to which they could now look in return for all the toils and hardships they had undergone; for it will be recollected that in the original agreement with Mendoza, when he undertook the conquest and settlement of the country, it was specifically provided that the Crown was not to be called upon for any part of the expenses: those, therefore, who went out did so upon their own account, looking only to share in whatever advantages might eventually result from their own exertions.

The personal services of the natives were, from the first discovery of America, considered as the legitimate right of the conquerors; but the excessive abuse of that right, which had led to the entire depopulation of some of the first discovered countries, had obliged the Government at home to interfere on behalf of the wretched Indians, and by certain humane ordinances so to endeavour to regulate their labour as not only to secure them for the future from such ill treatment, but to ameliorate their social condition, and to bring them within the pale of Christianity.

The opposition which those humane regulations encountered is well known. In Peru they caused the rebellion which La Gasca was sent out to quell; and elsewhere they were received with such dissatisfaction as obliged the Government to rest satisfied for a time with a modification of their first intentions, and to leave the treatment of the unfortunate Indians to be regulated by the ruling authorities according to circumstances, although as far as possible conformably to the rules laid down by the Council of the Indies.

In the mining districts of Peru, where the amount of gold and silver raised depended upon the forced labour of the Indians, little less mercy was shown them than in Hispaniola, which was depopulated by the first conquerors. In Paraguay the case so far differed that, the utility of their labours being limited to the cultivation of the fruits of a highly fertile soil, there was no motive on behalf of their masters to overwork them, whilst there were many which made it their interest to treat them kindly, and to keep up their numbers.

The regulations made by Yrala,* with the aid of the Bishop, for their government and treatment, seem to have been planned with every attention to their interests and social improvement, whilst their masters seem to have been satisfied with the limited service they were bound to give them in a country where there was no need to think of anything more than a liberal provision for their daily wants. All beyond was a useless superfluity, where nothing could be sold or bought, in a state of society where the use of money was unknown, and where the wants of men were in fact confined to the necessaries of life.

The conquered Indians were congregated in villages under simple municipal regulations, administered by alcaldes, who were generally chosen from their own caciques, subject to the supervision of Spanish officers appointed to see that their religious instruction was attended to, and that they were properly taken care of and not overtaken by their masters.

In these communities, or Encomiendas, as they were called, every male from the age of 18 to 50 was required

* "Vencedor Yrala de sus enemigos, amado aun de sus émulos, respetado de todos, condecorado con el Gobierno, continuó manejándose en adelante como magistrado sabio, capitan prudente, padre de su pueblo, y árbitro equitativo de los extraños," &c.

"Los pueblos sometidos lejos de provocar su ira, recibieron sin murmurar el destino que á bien se tuvo señalarles. Siendo este el de los repartimientos, nunca convenia menos exterminarlos: por el contrario, promover aquella tal qual cultura de la razon, que permitian las circunstancias, y que conduce á los principios de la vida social, aficionarlos al

trabajo mostrándoles las riquezas que la tierra abriga en sus senos, dar un nuevo ser á la vegetacion, enseñarles todos los medios, no solo de conservar su existencia, sino tambien de labrar el opulento patrimonio de los encomenderos, y en fin adelantar los establecimientos con aumento de la felicidad publica y privada; esta era todo lo que exigia el plan de una politica sensata. El genio vasto del Gobernador Yrala capaz de abrazar las combinaciones mas complicadas del mando, desempeñó estos objetos, y le hizo digno de vivir en los fastos de estas provincias," &c.—*Funes, Hist.*

to work for his master one-sixth of his time, or two months out of the twelve; the rest of the year was his own: and to make even this labour as little onerous to the community as possible, it was to be performed by them in rotation, from which they were called *Mitayos*, from *mittà*, an Indian expression for "*by turns*." The caciques, women, and eldest sons were exempted from all forced labour whatever. This small amount of service was not complained of by the Indians, who were fully compensated by the improvement which resulted in their social condition from the regulations of the superior government.

These *Mitayo* settlements were constituted into *Commanderies* more or less extensive, which were granted to the *Conquistadores* for two lives—their own and that of their immediate heir: they could not sell nor alienate them; and when the two lives lapsed, the Indians were promised their absolute freedom from servitude, by which time it was supposed they might be sufficiently prepared and fit for a participation in all the social rights and privileges of their Spanish masters. Till then, under certain limitations, they were considered as the feudal vassals of their appointed lords.

This system of reducing the Indians to subjection continued to be acted upon throughout the greater part of the first century of the Spanish rule in those parts, when complaints having reached Spain of the cruelties committed by the conquerors of Tucuman and of their ill-treatment of the natives, Don Francisco de Alfaro, then Auditor of the Supreme Court of Peru, was ordered to visit Paraguay, as well as those provinces, with powers, if he deemed it requisite for the good of the Indians, to revise any existing regulations affecting them. The result of his visitation was the promulgation of an entirely new code for the treatment of the Indians in 1612, known as the Ordinances of Alfaro, whereby it was entirely prohibited to the governors of any of those countries to attempt to reduce the Indians, as heretofore, by force to subjection; the right to exact their personal services was abolished, and they were subjected instead to the annual payment of a small capitation tax.

The arrival of the Jesuits about the same time in the Rio de la Plata, and the particular privileges granted them by the Crown with a view to the reduction of the Indians in a very different manner, was of still more importance to them. In 1610 the Fathers commenced their well-known labours in La Guayrá and on the upper parts of the Paraná, reducing vast numbers of the Guarani tribes to Christianity and to a comparatively civilized state in their celebrated Missions. The extreme docility of those tribes made them ready converts to their views, which held out great inducements to them to place themselves under their peaceful rule in preference to any other. But the establishment of such a system was not carried without a strong opposition on the part of the lay governors of the country, who complained of being deprived of the useful, if not necessary labour and service of so large a portion of the community; holding that the regulations of Yrala were much more likely to make useful subjects of the Indians, and give permanent importance to the King's conquests in those parts, than the exclusive communities formed for their own purposes by the Jesuits. The latter, however, had sufficient influence to consolidate their own power to the exclusion of all others, and of any interference whatever with the Indians under their charge.

But, to return to Yrala: after settling the natives of Paraguay in the reductions as above mentioned, he extended the same system to La Guayrá, whither a force was detached to take permanent possession of the country. The site of Ontiveros was removed to a more healthy situation, and the town of Ciudad Real was founded higher up the Paraná. The Indians were subjugated, and 40,000 families were parcelled out amongst the conquerors, in the same manner as had been so successfully effected in Paraguay.

With a like object Nuflo de Chaves was despatched up the river Paraguay, with a force of 200 Spaniards and 1500 Guaranis, to make a settlement in the lands of the Origones, or Xarayes, Indians, which it was hoped might facilitate the means of future communication between the people of the Rio de la Plata and their countrymen in Peru.

After these measures for consolidating and extending the Spanish rule in those parts, Yrala was able to turn his attention to the enlargement and embellishment of the city of Assumption, now the seat of a bishopric as well as the capital of the colony; and these were his last labours. Whilst at Ytá, an Indian village a little distance down the river, whither he had gone to direct the felling of some timber for the completion of the cathedral, in which he had taken great personal interest, he was suddenly attacked by a malignant fever, which after a few days terminated his life, at the age of seventy. He died in 1557, lamented throughout all Paraguay by the Indians as well as his own countrymen. For more than twenty years he had been the leader of a succession of enterprises connected with the discovery and settlement of the countries which he had added to the Spanish dominions, fairly entitling him to be called, before all others, the Hero of the Conquest of the Rio de la Plata.*

He left the government of Paraguay to his son-in-law Mendoza, who did not survive him many months, upon which the colonists proceeded again to fill up the vacancy by vote, and elected as his successor Don Francisco Ortiz de Vergara, who had married another of the daughters of Yrala.

In the mean time Chaves, who had been sent up the river Paraguay upon the expedition already mentioned, and had reached the mouth of the river Jaurú, in lat. $16^{\circ} 25'$, receiving intelligence of the death of Yrala, determined to push forward into the interior of the country in quest of fresh discoveries on his own account; and although the greater number of his people refused to follow him, and returned to Assumption, he managed, with about sixty men, who volunteered to share his fortunes, to fight his way as far as the confines of Las Charcas, where falling in with one

* "El que serenó estas provincias, aquietó los turbados animos con las pasadas desgracias del tiempo, las conquistó, redujo á policia, estableció por capital y republica de todas ellas la ciudad del Paraguay con titulo de la Asumpcion de N. S., é hizo todo, porque ninguno hizo tanto, es y fué Don Domingo Martinez de Yrala."—*Vide Serie de*

los SS. Gobernadores del Paraguay segun consta de los libros capitulares que se conservan en el archivo de la Asumpcion, por el P. Bautista. (*De Angelis, Collec.*)

"El sentimiento universal que dexó su muerte en todas las clases del estado, es el mejor elogio fúnebre, que pudo dedicarle la Patria."—*Funes, Hist.*

Manso, a Spaniard from Peru, in quest like himself of new conquests, a dispute arose between them as to their respective rights, which Chaves went on to Lima to lay before the Viceroy, the Marquis of Cañete, to whom he was distantly related, and with whom he managed so to ingratiate himself as to obtain not only a confirmation of his own pretensions, but the command of a force with which he was ordered back to take permanent possession of the territories in question in the Viceroy's name as part of Peru.

There shortly after (in 1560) Chaves founded the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the farthest settlement made by the Conquistadores of the Rio de la Plata. It connected their discoveries with the possessions of the Crown in Peru, and thus established the Spanish dominions in South America from the mouth of the Rio de la Plata to Panamá, on the Pacific Ocean.

Chaves having secured the protection of the Viceroy, after a time obtained leave to return to Assumption for his wife and children, and to remove to Peru 2000 Guaranis, who had been allotted to him in the repartimiento, or division, of the Indians made by Yrala amongst the Conquistadores of Paraguay; and although he little deserved it, he met with a kind reception from the Governor, as did a party of Spaniards from Peru who were in his company.

In return he endeavoured to persuade Vergara to follow his example, and undertake a journey to Lima, in order to obtain from the Viceroy the confirmation in due form of his election as Governor of Paraguay. It may easily be supposed that the stories which Chaves and his companions had to tell of the riches and luxury in which their countrymen were living in Peru, were not slow to rekindle in the breasts of the Spaniards of Paraguay all their original feelings and desire to open by any means a communication with that land of promise, to which they had always looked as the ultimate reward of their labours.

Vergara himself was, perhaps, as anxious as any of them to find a plausible pretext for visiting a country, the accounts of which had excited the whole world's wonder. The Bishop, too, who in all matters was his principal adviser,

seems to have been infected with the same feelings, and so were many others, especially those holding offices under the Crown, foremost of whom was one Caceres, the Royal Contador, who begged permission to avail themselves of the opportunity to pay their respects and duty to the Viceroy.

In an evil hour the Governor suffered himself to be persuaded to set out upon this ill-advised expedition, taking with him the Bishop and Caceres, and, according to Guzman, no less than 300 Spaniards in his suite, with a retinue of more than 2000 Indians, besides as many more who were carried off from Paraguay by Chaves at the same time.

Whether or not the whole was a preconcerted plot between Chaves and Caceres to get rid of Vergara, or whether it was concocted after they left Paraguay, admits of some uncertainty; but there is no doubt that, long before his journey's end, the Governor found to his dismay that he was surrounded by traitors, who had inveigled him from Paraguay solely for their own purposes.

Once within the jurisdiction of Chaves, his guards were disarmed, and the greater part of his people withdrew from his command to settle in the country, whilst he was himself detained by Chaves, under various pretexts, and prevented from proceeding further on his journey.

In the mean time Caceres and those in league with him repaired to Chuquisaca, where the Audiencia was sitting, and laid before that tribunal, the Supreme Court in South America, a list of charges which they had trumped up against him, and which Vergara, to his astonishment, was required to answer.

In vain he protested against the competency of any court in Peru to entertain such proceedings against him; he was held virtually to have admitted it when he placed himself within the limits of their jurisdiction, and was adjudged to have forfeited his government by quitting Paraguay, as he had done, without leave from the Crown, and with so large a number of followers as, according to his accusers, had left the security of the colony in peril.

The Viceroy, prejudiced against him, ratified the pro-

ceedings of the Audiencia, subject to the Emperor's pleasure; and not content with this exercise of his power, filled up the vacancy by appointing to it one of his own followers, Don Juan Ortiz de Zarate, who immediately started for Spain to obtain his confirmation—a very difficult matter when it was found that he was ready to lay out a considerable sum of his own money in aid of the colonists.

The treachery of Caceres was repaid by his receiving the appointment, which he had probably expected, to administer the government of Paraguay as Zarate's deputy till he should arrive there himself from Spain. But it was an ill-gotten honour, which only brought him into sad trouble. The interference with their affairs by the government of Peru caused great dissatisfaction amongst the people of Paraguay, when the particulars of what had taken place were detailed by Vergara's friends, and especially by the Bishop, who had been as much deceived as Vergara himself in the result of their journey to Peru, and who at once placed himself avowedly at the head of a party in opposition to Caceres, who had already rendered himself unpopular by previous proceedings amongst his countrymen.

Caceres reached Assumption in January, 1569, and for three or four years afterwards the colony, divided by the two contending factions, was kept in a state of continual disturbance. In the violence of party feeling all sense of propriety seems to have been lost sight of by the Bishop as well as by the Deputy-Governor. Extremities were avoided for a time, in expectation of Zarate's arrival from Spain, but it was only for a time. The Bishop's adherents, incensed by some insults put upon him by Caceres, had recourse at last to the bold measure of seizing him whilst attending mass in the cathedral; and acting with the sanction, if not by orders of the Bishop, placed Caceres in irons, and threw him into a dungeon preparatory to sending him to Spain as a state prisoner, precisely in the same manner as he had himself thirty years before served his own master, Cabeza de Vaca, against whom he had been one of the chief conspirators. This was in 1572.

Four years had now elapsed since Zarate's appointment

by the Viceroy as Governor, and no tidings had been heard of him in Paraguay, when an Indian messenger arrived at Santa Fé, whither Don Juan de Garay had gone to form a new settlement, in the vicinity of Cabot's old fort on the Carcaraña, with intelligence that he had reached the Rio de la Plata in great distress, and had landed on the coast of the Banda Oriental, opposite to San Gabriel, where he was beset by a host of the warlike Charruas, and in imminent danger of being cut off by them if not speedily succoured. De Garay, who was a noble fellow, lost no time in starting to the rescue of the unfortunate Adelantado, although he knew that to reach him he must cut his way with his little band through hostile tribes who boasted that they had never yet been beaten by the Spaniards. He had a desperate battle to fight, but he succeeded in relieving him from his perilous situation.

It appeared that Zarate had left Spain in 1572 with between 400 and 500 volunteers, but had suffered such privations and hardships on the voyage, that before he reached the Rio de la Plata half his people had died, whilst the remainder narrowly escaped De Solis' fate, from landing amongst the same cannibals, by whom eighty of them had already been killed in various encounters before De Garay reached them.

Under his escort Zarate was enabled to reach Paraguay, but, broken down by his own sufferings and dismayed by the state of confusion he found there, he lapsed into a state of melancholy and died a few months afterwards, in 1575—not, however, before he had evinced his gratitude to De Garay by appointing him Lieutenant-Governor and Captain-General over the province and its dependencies, and constituting him sole guardian of his only child, Doña Juana, to whom on his death-bed he bequeathed, according to his right, the Adelantazgo. She had been left in Peru when the Viceroy sent her father to Europe to ask for the government of Paraguay, and in his absence had become betrothed to Don Juan de Torres de Vera y Aragon, one of the members of the Audiencia, a marriage which the Viceroy, anxious to secure the heiress and her government for one of his own followers, interfered to prevent on hearing of Zarate's death; but in that he was foiled by

De Garay, who, as her guardian, hastened to her at Chiquisaca, and notwithstanding the Viceroy's inhibition, saw her married in all due form to her lover.

The Viceroy, disappointed in his own views, managed on various pretexts to detain Torres and his bride in Peru; but he could not prevent his confirming in right of his wife the authority and full powers already conferred upon De Garay by Zarate, with which he returned to resume the charge of the government of Paraguay, greatly to the satisfaction of all parties there, who were not the less pleased with him for his spirited resistance of the Viceroy's endeavour again to interfere in the appointment of their Governor.

For four years afterwards De Garay was engaged in restoring peace within the colony, and in carrying out some of Yrala's original designs for extending the authority of his government over the neighbouring countries. He founded the Spanish townships of Villa Rica in La Guayrá, Santiago de Xerez upon the river Emboteby below the Xarayes, and Talavera on the Xexui, besides making several important reductions, as the settlements were called, of the Indians.

But the object which he had most at heart was to establish some stronghold near the entrance of the Rio de la Plata, where vessels arriving from Europe might find shelter and refreshment after their long sea voyage preparatory to commencing the wearisome passage up the Paraná. The necessity for some such port of refuge had been always felt, and the disastrous fate of Zarate's expedition had strikingly exemplified it.

There seemed to be no better situation than the vicinity of Mendoza's original settlement at Buenos Ayres, which offered the double advantage of a roadstead accessible to ships coming from the seaboard, and what was of perhaps quite as much importance, considering the risks of navigating the Rio de la Plata, a safe harbour for the smaller craft coming down the Paraná, which might be expected to constitute the principal means of communication between the Spanish settlements up the river and the new city. And there accordingly, after some deliberation, it was decided once more to found a settlement of Spaniards.

De Garay would trust no one else with the undertaking, and, after making arrangements for the government of Paraguay during his absence, he went down the river himself with a small but gallant company of volunteers, and effected his landing near the Riachuelo without opposition, the Indians being at the time away.

No sooner, however, were the Querandis acquainted with this fresh invasion of their territory than they prepared most vigorously to repel it, and, assembling all the tribes in alliance with them from far and near, bore down upon the Spaniards with, to all appearance, an overwhelming force.

The savages were led on by one of their most famous caciques, Tabobá, and bravely fought for their lands, confiding in the recollection of their past good fortune in defeating every attempt of the Spaniards to subdue them. On this occasion, however, they were to learn a different lesson.

De Garay's soldiers sallied out from their entrenchments to meet them, and after a desperate conflict, in which marvellous stories of individual valour on both sides are related, the death of Tabobá, who was slain in single combat and decapitated on the spot by Don Juan de Enciso, a Spanish cavalier, decided the battle. The savages, seeing him fall, fled in every direction, pursued by the victors till they were weary of killing them. Such was the slaughter that to this day the scene of the engagement goes by the name of "La Matanza," or the killing ground. But De Garay was determined to strike home, and such a blow as should convince the Indians of the superiority of the Spanish arms.

They were indeed most effectually humbled, the proof of it being their submission, without further resistance, to be parcelled out amongst the conquerors by the old process of repartimiento. The registers are still preserved of De Garay's followers by name, amongst 65 of whom he divided in lots the lands extending along the river side from Buenos Ayres to Baradero on the Paraná, as well as the Indian inhabitants of the adjoining territories under their respective caciques.

De Garay was not the man, like Mendoza, to shut up

his people in mud walls to be starved by the savages; he knew that to found a settlement without lands to provision it would be of little use, and he took his measures accordingly. The lines of the new city were laid out about a league higher up the river than the site of Mendoza's original settlement on the Riachuelo; and from the festival of the Holy Trinity, 1580, on which day De Garay had landed, and once more unfurled the Spanish flag to cover his conquest, he gave it the name of the city of the Most Holy Trinity, "*Ciudad de la Santissima Trinidad*," retaining for the port that of Santa Maria de Buenos Ayres, originally given to it by Mendoza. The position was the most commanding one on the river side, and under De Garay's active superintendence was soon sufficiently fortified to overawe the Indians, and to ensure protection, not only to the rising capital, but to the settlers in its immediate vicinity.

During three years De Garay continued to work incessantly at the new settlement, nor did he quit it till he had despatched a vessel to Spain with an account of his important conquest and subsequent proceedings. That vessel also took to Spain the first cargo of the produce of the countries of the Rio de la Plata—hides and sugar from Paraguay; the former an evidence of the increase which had taken place in the original stock of horned cattle introduced from Europe not 30 years before, the other an indigenous production of that province.

De Garay's settlement at Buenos Ayres completed the conquest of the Rio de la Plata.

But although the Spaniards were now nominally masters of the river, and had little to apprehend from any open hostilities on the part of the natives, their settlements were still too few and far between to prevent the savages from waylaying and intercepting straggling or incautious parties, as they passed up and down from one place to another, whenever they found they could do so with a chance of impunity. Of this the most deplorable instance was De Garay's own fate. Landing incautiously on his passage back to Assumption, to sleep, near the ruins of the old fort of San Espíritu, he was surprised by a party of the Minuas, one of the most insignificant tribes in those parts, and mur-

dered in cold blood, in the dead of the night, with all who had gone on shore with him.

Over-confident in his own good fortune hitherto, he had become careless, and on this occasion had not taken even the ordinary precaution of setting a single sentry to keep watch.*

Great was the grief of all Paraguay at this lamentable and unexpected death of their valiant Governor, who had gained the good will of all parties by his judicious and conciliatory conduct, no less than their respect and admiration for the brave deeds by which he had signalised the period of his command, and made it ever memorable in the annals of the Rio de la Plata.

If the conquest of Paraguay was the work of Yrala, so that of the province of Buenos Ayres was indisputably due to De Garay. Both were Biscayan Hidalgos of gentle birth, ambitious of fame, and alike favoured by fortune in their undertakings.

The remains of Yrala lie entombed and honoured in the Church of his own building at Assumption. In due time, perhaps, some suitable public monument may equally record the good and brave deeds of the founder of Buenos Ayres, Don Juan de Garay.

The importance of the cities founded by him soon became apparent; and in 1620 all the settlements south of the confluence of the rivers Paraná and Paraguay were formed into a separate government, independent of that of Paraguay, under the name of the Government of the Rio de la Plata, of which Buenos Ayres was declared the capital, as well as the seat of a new bishoprick, created about the same time by Pope Paul V., at the request of King Philip III.

* “ Flush’d with good fortune, and too bold
From victories so oft-times told,
De Garay must have been possest
To think of lying down to rest
Midst savages by night and day,
Tracking his path, like beasts of prey,
Without a guard to sound alarm :
So careless of impending harm,
What wonder dire mishap befell
That gallant crew ? ”

CHAPTER V.

1620—1788.

Commercial Policy of Spain in the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata — Contraband Trade of the English and Portuguese — Disputes and War in consequence — Establishment of the Viceregal Government at Buenos Ayres — Promulgation of the Free Trade Regulations of 1778 — And increase of the Trade and Population.

ABOUT a century had now elapsed since the first discovery of the Rio de la Plata, and out of the vast territories watered by that mighty stream and its tributaries, three extensive governments had been added to the possessions of the crown of Spain: those of Paraguay, Buenos Ayres, and Tucuman, the latter comprising the towns in the interior, which had been founded by the followers of Almagro and other adventurers from Peru—all richly endowed by Nature, and capable of being rendered of the greatest value to the trade and commerce of the mother country, but they did not produce the first and apparently only objects coveted by Spain and Spaniards, gold and silver; enough to doom them to something worse than neglect on the part of the ruling authorities. Still this perhaps would not have been of vital importance to the colonists had they been but permitted to send their produce, such as it was, to market, and to receive in exchange from Spain such European articles as they required for the supply of their own wants; but this was prohibited, absolutely at first, and subsequently under such miserable conditions as were alone enough to destroy all incitement to industry and all chance of fairly developing the capabilities of the new settlements.

The merchants of Seville, who had obtained a monopoly of the supply of Peru, as well as Mexico, by means of the periodical fairs held at Portobello, over which they had the entire command, regulating as they pleased the prices

not only of what they sold, but of what they bought, regarded the prospect of any new opening by way of the Rio de la Plata with extreme jealousy, and exerted their interest but too successfully to obtain prohibitory and restrictive enactments against all trade with Buenos Ayres, lest it should become the channel for the introduction of European goods into Peru, and so interfere with the sale of their periodical shipments by the galleons for the Isthmus of Panamá.

In vain the Buenos Ayreans petitioned and remonstrated against this injustice; all they could obtain for some years was, leave to export annually to the Portuguese settlements in Brazil, or to the coast of Guinea, 2000 fanegas of wheat, 500 quintals of jerked beef, and 500 more of tallow. In 1618 this was extended to a permission to send two vessels yearly to Spain, the burthen of which was limited to 100 tons each; and lest even this concession should lead to the introduction of goods for Peru, insignificant as the quantity must necessarily have been, a custom house was established at Cordova to levy a duty of 50 per cent. on all goods carried that way, and to stop altogether any extraction of gold or silver from Peru for Buenos Ayres. To any further extension of the trade the Consulados of Seville and Lima made the most strenuous and effectual opposition.* All commercial intercourse with the other colonies of Spain in the same hemisphere was prohibited under the most severe penalties; and with the exception of an occasional vessel, which for the benefit of some favoured individual obtained a special licence to carry out a cargo thither, the trade of the Rio de la Plata continued to be restricted by the miserable regulations above mentioned for nearly the whole of the first century of the existence of Buenos Ayres, two yearly ships being deemed sufficient to supply the wants of three populous provinces.

The wonderful water communications of South America seemed only to have been discovered by the Spaniards to

* *Memorias Historicas sobre la Legislacion y Gobierno del Comercio de los Españoles con sus Colonias, &c., por el*

Sr. Rafael Antunez y Acevedo, Ministro del Supremo Consejo de las Indias. Madrid, 1797.

be closed by the wretched policy of their government for every useful purpose to which nature appeared to have designed them. .

In 1715, after the Treaty of Utrecht, the English obtained the Asiento, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies in America with African slaves; in virtue of which they had leave to form an establishment, amongst other places, at Buenos Ayres, and to send thither four ships annually with 1200 negroes, the value of which they were permitted to export in produce of the country; and, although they were strictly forbidden to introduce any goods other than those necessary for their own establishments, under pain of their being confiscated and publicly burnt, the temptation to evade these regulations was soon found to be irresistible amongst a people who were absolutely in want of clothing, and ready to pay any price for it; and the Asiento ships became, as might have been expected, the means of carrying on a contraband traffic, which, however at variance with the treaty stipulations, was justified by a necessity which recognized no other law. The local authorities appear to have had neither the will nor the power to put down a trade which supplied the most pressing wants of the colony, and the profits of which were shared by the native capitalists. If they did occasionally make a show of exercising their right to visit the ships, it was an empty threat, little heeded by men who were looked upon with almost as much dread as the buccaneers who had so long been the terror of all that part of the world.

Funes mentions the case of one Captain King, the commander of an English vessel called "The Duke of Cambridge," belonging to the Company, which had arrived in the river richly laden with European goods, who, when the Spanish officers went off to visit him conformably to the regulations, threatened to fire upon them, and set them openly at defiance. Another of these ships, "The Carteret," he says, was well known to have left the Rio de la Plata for London, with two millions of dollars in specie and seventy thousand dollars' worth of hides, in return for European goods which she had clandestinely

sold in the colony: and so this trade was carried on till 1739, when Spain attempting to stop it by her guardacostas, and England resisting, the two powers became involved in open hostilities, which put an end to the Asiento.

After the capture of Portobello by the English, Register-ships, as they were called, were permitted for the first time to proceed direct round Cape Horn for the supply of the inhabitants of the shores of the Pacific—a great boon to the people of those countries; but no relief was given to those of the vast provinces of the Rio de la Plata, where the same restrictions on the trade were continued, although the main reason for imposing them originally alleged no longer existed, viz. the maintenance of that monopoly which the fairs of Portobello ensured to the merchants of Seville and Lima.*

In the mean time the English were not the worst contrabandists in the river Plate. The Treaty of Utrecht, which had given them the Asiento, secured to the Portuguese the important settlement of Colonia del Sacramento, on the eastern shore of the river, directly opposite to Buenos Ayres—a position which afforded them every facility of communication with the neighbouring settlements of the Spaniards; and, although by the same treaty the crown of Portugal was solemnly engaged to prohibit all smuggling, not only were the provinces of Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, and Tucuman thenceforward abundantly supplied through this channel with European goods, but they were carried into the heart of Peru, and sold there at lower prices than the same articles sent to Lima by the merchants of Seville, viâ Panamá.

Foreign traders and foreign goods superseded those of Spain, and the mother country lost not only a market for her own manufactures, but the duties upon the goods imported. The yearly freight of the galleons, which at

* “Es de advertir, que extinguidos los galeones en 1740, y no restablecidos con las flotas en 1754, subsistió sin embargo la navegacion de Buenos Ayres con las mismas limitaciones que antes, no obstante haber faltado los dos poderosos

motivos que les causaban, esto es, el fomento de las ferias de Portobello para los comerciantes de España, y el interes de los del Perú en que no hubiese otra puerta que aquella para la contratacion con sus Provincias.”—*Acevedo*, fol. 128.

the close of the preceding century had been estimated at 15,000 tons, fell to 2000, the returns being little more than the Royal fifths from the silver mines.

Such were the consequences of that restrictive system which the Consulados of Seville and Lima had been the foremost to urge upon the Government, and of which they were now amongst the first to complain.

The Spanish authorities had still to learn that the tide of Commerce is no more to be restrained than that of its parent Old Ocean by artificial devices: sooner or later, directly or indirectly, it will pass all barriers, and find its natural course, true to established laws. In vain the Viceroy of Lima wrote to Zavala, the Governor of Buenos Ayres, ordering him to punish his officers because it appeared the people of the interior of Peru had ceased to repair to Lima for the supply of their wants, in consequence of the quantity of merchandise illicitly sent to them by way of the Rio de la Plata.

Zavala, one of the most zealous and intelligent officers ever employed by the Crown in those parts, was obliged to reply that he had found by experience that all the measures he could take to prevent it were vain and useless, whilst such facilities existed for carrying on the traffic, and such enormous gains resulted to the parties engaged in it. He had the boldness, however, to express his own opinion that the only means of stopping a trade so detrimental to Spanish interests, and so demoralizing to the colonists, was either to throw it open altogether to the legal trader, whereby the Government would secure the duties upon all importations, or to drive the Portuguese entirely out of the Banda Oriental.

Of the two alternatives the latter happened at the time best to suit the views of the Government of Spain, who had become alarmed, and with good reason, at the manifest encroachments of their neighbours.

The Portuguese, not satisfied with their limited possessions at Colonia, had commenced a more important settlement in the vicinity of Monte Video, from which, however, they were promptly dislodged by Zavala, who, upon his Government receiving news of the fact, was fur-

ther ordered to proceed immediately to make permanent settlements there and at Maldonado for the more effectual maintenance of the rights of the Spanish Crown.

It was under these circumstances that the present city of Monte Video was commenced in 1726, under the name of San Felipe, Puerto de Monte Video. Some families were transported thither from the Canaries, and others removed there from Buenos Ayres, in order to secure the privileges offered to the first settlers. The Viceroy sent large sums of money from Potosi to carry on the works, and the walls in due time assumed, with the labour of the Guarani Indians, the appearance of an important fortification, which the Spanish Government flattered themselves would overawe their neighbours. It seems to have had rather an opposite effect; the Portuguese increased their own establishments, and fixed themselves permanently on the Rio Grande, from whence they overran the adjoining lands, pillaged the Spanish settlers, and carried on the contraband trade with more impunity than ever. Funes says it was calculated that the trade in question was worth two millions of dollars yearly to the Portuguese nation, and so much of course lost to Spain.

Fresh disputes were the natural consequence, which it was vainly hoped would be finally set at rest by a treaty which was entered into between the two nations in 1750, one of the articles of which stipulated that Portugal should cede to Spain all the establishments she had formed on the eastern shores of the Rio de la Plata, including Colonia, in exchange for the seven Missionary Towns upon the Uruguay. But the Indians rose in arms against an arrangement which was to deliver over their peaceful and beautiful abodes to a nation only known to them by their atrocious cruelties to the aborigines, and made a gallant resistance against the joint forces of the two powers, which took the field to enforce their submission to the terms of the treaty. When 2000 of them were slaughtered, and the towns in question were depopulated and reduced to ruins, the Portuguese refused to take possession of them, and made it a pretext for the non-fulfilment of their own engagement to deliver up Colonia in exchange.

The Jesuits had to bear the blame of having frustrated the objects of this treaty, and were accused of having instigated the Indians to revolt—an accusation which was not proved, although there can be no doubt how deeply interested they must have been in an arrangement vitally affecting establishments which had so long been the special object of their care. But at that time such charges gained easy credit against their order, the suppression of which was doomed. In 1757 the Marquis of Pombal drove them from Portugal, and in 1767 Charles III., in open defiance of the threats and remonstrances of the Pope, Clement XIII., banished them from all his dominions in America as well as Europe.

In 1762, upon the renewal of hostilities, Don Pedro Cevallos, then Governor of Buenos Ayres, besieged Colonia, and succeeded in taking it; but peace being signed the following year, it was once more restored to the Portuguese, who continued in possession of it till 1777, when it was again taken from them by the Spanish forces under the same distinguished officer, Cevallos, and definitively ceded to Spain, under the circumstances to which I am about to allude.

In the Rio de la Plata the continual encroachments of the Portuguese, the impunity with which contraband trade was carried on, and the disputes which were continually arising with foreign nations from the continuance of such a state of things, had long shown the necessity for a change in the nature of the local government of that colony. It was manifest, indeed, that to counteract such evils the superintendence of a Viceroy residing at Lima, 1000 leagues off, was worse than useless, and only hampered the action of the subordinate authorities at Buenos Ayres.

There were other considerations which, about the same time, may have contributed to induce the Spanish ministry to assume a more imposing attitude, and to give fresh vigour to their administrative officers in the Rio de la Plata. The defenceless state of their dependencies in that quarter of South America had already attracted notice, and there was good ground to expect that, in the event of hostilities with England, which were more than probable,

they would be amongst the first objects of attack. That alone would have made it requisite to put her defences in order; but the more immediate pretexts for so doing were fresh insults and provocations of the Portuguese in the Banda Oriental, which it became necessary for Spain, if she valued her honour as well as her interests in those quarters, to put down by some much more effectual means than any she had yet adopted.

In 1776 the important resolution was taken to separate the provinces of the Rio de la Plata from their dependence upon the Government of Peru, and to erect them into a new Viceroyalty, the capital of which was fixed at Buenos Ayres. It comprised the province so called, and those of Paraguay, Cordova, Salta, Potosi, La Plata, Santa Cruz de la Sierra or Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno, besides the subordinate governments of Monte Video, Moxos, and Chiquitos, and the Missions on the rivers Uruguay and Paraná.

The choice of Don Pedro Cevallos to be the first Viceroy was in itself an indication to her Portuguese neighbours of the determination of Spain to be no longer trifled with. He had been Governor of Buenos Ayres from 1757 to 1766, and was well known to them for the vigour with which he had opposed their encroachments in the Banda Oriental during the war of 1762.

The most formidable armament which had ever been sent by Spain to America was placed at his command: it consisted of 10,000 men, embarked in 116 ships, which, convoyed by 12 men-of-war, sailed from Spain in 1776. With this imposing force Cevallos directed his course in the first instance to the island of St. Catherine's, the most important possession of the Portuguese upon the coast of Brazil, which surrendered to him with hardly a show of resistance. Thence he proceeded to the river Plate, where Colonia capitulated; the fortifications were razed to the ground, and the Portuguese were driven from all their possessions in the vicinity.

Further hostilities were then stopped by the receipt of intelligence of the death of King John, the sovereign of Portugal, and the consequent removal of his minister, the

Marquis of Pombal, to whose aggressive policy these unhappy differences between the two Crowns had long been attributed. The Princess Maria, who succeeded to the throne, was personally under deep obligations to her uncle, Charles III. of Spain, and only anxious to terminate as speedily as possible all causes of hostility between the two Crowns.

In October, 1777, a treaty was signed at St. Ildefonso for the restoration of peace, and for the final settlement of all questions at issue between the two nations as to their respective rights in America.

In virtue of this arrangement Spain restored St. Catharine's; and Portugal, withdrawing entirely from the territory of the Banda Oriental of the Rio de la Plata, ceded to her Colonia, and relinquished all pretensions to any participation in the navigation of the Rio de la Plata and its affluents beyond her own boundary lines.

Finally, it was agreed that Commissioners on both sides should be appointed to lay down definitively their respective boundaries from the south-eastern limits of Brazil on the coast to the frontiers of Peru.

The Spanish minister, Count Florida-blanca, had good reason to be proud of this arrangement. In a report addressed to his Sovereign, which has been since published, he says that "he considered it as one of the happiest events of his ministry to have secured Colonia for the Crown of Spain, whereby foreign contraband traders were deprived of their stronghold in the very centre of the Rio de la Plata, and the enemies of Spain had no longer the means of disturbing the peace of those provinces, and of appropriating to themselves the riches of South America."

Under these circumstances, with both sides of the river definitively secured to Spain, and the presence of a large and victorious army under a commander whose name alone was a tower of strength in those parts, the new Viceroyalty was established under the most promising auspices.

The important changes which Spain was then projecting in her commercial regulations for the Colonies seemed only wanting to ensure the future prosperity of Buenos Ayres, and they were now no longer deferred.

Since the accession of Charles III. in 1759, various relaxations had been made in that old system, so long complained of, which had made the entire trade of Spain with America little better than a monopoly in the hands of the merchants of Seville and Cadiz.

In 1764 periodical packets were established, vessels of considerable burthen, which took their departure from Corunna for all the principal ports in the Colonies, with leave, besides their correspondence, to carry out cargoes of Spanish manufactures, and to import in return Colonial produce: a direct intercourse was also allowed for the first time with Cuba and other islands in the West Indies, and in 1774 all the Colonies were permitted to open a trade with each other, which up to that time had been rigorously prohibited.

These measures originated with Don Joseph de Galvez, the minister for the department of the Indies, who had himself passed many years in America, and had personally witnessed how greatly Spain was a loser by the system she had hitherto pursued, and how very materially her interests might be advanced by a thorough change in her colonial policy.

They were followed in 1778 by the promulgation of an entirely new commercial code for the Indies, which at that time was thought deserving the title of "The Free Trade Regulations;" and *free* they certainly were, compared with the old restrictions and tariff of 1720, but only for Spaniards. The trade was still to be exclusively confined to Spaniards and Spanish shipping, and the tariff was based entirely upon the principle of protection to native industry, and of furthering the sale of the productions of Spain in preference to all others of whatever origin. Nine ports in Spain and twenty-four in the Colonies were declared "puertos habilitados," or ports of entry.

For ten years Spanish manufactures of wool, cotton, linen, steel, glass, &c., were allowed to be shipped duty free for the Colonies, as were the principal articles of raw produce from America imported in return, such as cotton, coffee, sugar, cochineal, indigo, bark, and copper. The duty on the import of gold was reduced from 5 to 2 per cent., and that of silver from 10 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; whilst,

for the encouragement of Spanish shipping, vessels loaded solely with national produce were exempted from one-third of the duties otherwise payable. Generally, on goods not specifically exempted, the duties on shipments for the Colonies were estimated to average about 3 per cent. upon Spanish goods, and 7 per cent. on those of foreign manufacture, over and above the charges levied upon them on their import into Spain previously to re-exportation, which in reality raised them to an ad valorem duty of from 40 to 50 per cent.

The shipment of some articles of foreign production, such as cottons, stuffs, hats, and silk stockings, oil, wines, and brandies, which might interfere with those of Spain, was totally prohibited.

Unfortunately, with the same main object in view of protecting Spanish interests, some obsolete edicts were renewed, which restricted the cultivation and improvement of several productions of the colonies, such as the vine and the olive in some parts, and hemp and flax in others, lest they should compete with the same articles grown by the mother country. Their domestic manufactures also were discouraged wherever they were the same as those of Spain, and in some cases altogether put down. The South Americans were not allowed to make their own cloth, and were arbitrarily deprived of the use of one of their own most valuable materials, the wool of the vicuña, which by a special edict the Viceroy was ordered to collect for the King's account, that it might be sent to Spain to be worked up in the Royal manufactory at Guadalaxara.

A greater grievance which marked the administration of Galvez was the partiality with which public employments of every kind were filled up by European Spaniards in preference to natives. "Never," says Funes, "were the civil and military offices in South America so exclusively bestowed upon old Spaniards; it was enough to be an American born to be shut out from all chance even of a doorkeeper's appointment."

These measures were bitterly complained of by the Americans, and cited in corroboration of their own persuasion that in his new commercial regulations Galvez,

like every other minister of Spain, had only had in view the furtherance of the interests of the Mother Country, regardless of those of the Colonies.

It was certainly a great mistake on the part of the Spanish ministry to perpetuate such causes of grievance against the parent state, especially at a time when questions connected with the relative rights and obligations of European governments and their colonial subjects were brought so forcibly into notice by the struggle then pending between Great Britain and her North American possessions—when too, which made it still more extraordinary, Spain herself had determined to join with France and the enemies of England in espousing the cause of the North Americans against the mother country, and in thus countenancing those notions of independence and free government in the British colonies which she was at the same time more than ever determined to smother in her own.

The King of Spain is said to have taken some credit to himself that he did not make at that time, as France did, a treaty with the people of the United States: be that as it may, he contributed, there is no doubt, to establish the principle of the subject's right to resistance against his sovereign on the plea of wrongs unredressed, of which the South Americans did not fail to remind his successor when they too some years afterwards rose in arms against oppression and misgovernment.

But whatever were the complaints of the Americans with regard to the matters referred to, there can be no doubt that in general the new commercial regulations proved extremely advantageous to the colonies, as well as to the mother country, especially where they were so situated as directly to profit by them, as at Buenos Ayres, which, from being a nest of smugglers, soon rose to be one of the most important of the commercial cities of the New World.

This is abundantly shown by the returns of trade which from time to time have been published. To take the staple commodity of the country, hides for example. Before the new regulations of 1778 the exports to Spain

were calculated to average not more than 150,000 yearly. Afterwards they rose to from 700,000 to 800,000; in one year, 1783, upon the conclusion of the peace with England, the extraordinary number of 1,400,000 were shipped for Europe. Prices rose in proportion to the increased demand, and instead of two or three ships, there sailed from seventy to eighty annually from the Rio de la Plata for the ports of Spain.

The population of the province of Buenos Ayres alone, under these new circumstances, in the first twenty years was nearly doubled. It rose from 37,679 in 1778, to 72,000 in 1800.

It would seem, indeed, as if the new prospects of commercial enterprise and wealth, for the first time fairly laid before a colony so manifestly destined by nature to be the emporium of the trade with the interior of the South American continent, had absorbed all other ideas. Whilst every nation in Europe was in a state of unparalleled commotion from the direful consequences of the French Revolution, the Spanish Americans remained passive, apparently in a state of apathetic indifference to all that was passing.* The authorities no doubt did their best in execution of their orders from Spain to keep them in the dark, and to prevent the spread of those revolutionary doctrines which menaced the peace of every part of the world; but it is a remarkable proof of the overpowering influence of the Spanish Colonial system, that under such extraordinary and exciting circumstances it was able so effectually to keep down all popular feeling, and notwithstanding her own weakness to preserve them so entirely in a state of servile fidelity.

* "Se libraron providencias las mas activas para que no prendiese en America alguna chispa de aquel incendio revolucionario. . . . El Virey Aredondo tomó todas las medidas de seguridad, asi para

prevenir en estas Provincias qualquiera agresion del enemigo, como para mantenerlas en la mas estrecha dependencia." —*Funes, Hist.*, vol. iii.

CHAPTER VI.

1806—1816.

Effect of the British Invasions of Buenos Ayres in 1806 and 1807, and of the subsequent Occupation of Spain by the French Armies — Establishment of a Provisional Junta in 1810 — Considered as an act of Rebellion by the Spanish Cortes — Civil War in consequence — Ferdinand on his Restoration obstinate instead of conciliatory — Drives the South Americans to separate from his Rule — Declaration of Independence by the Provinces of the Río de la Plata at Tucuman in 1816.

THEIR successful resistance of the British invasions of Buenos Ayres in 1806 and 1807, the issue of which could have surprised no one more than themselves, roused the people from these slumbers, and taught them for the first time their own power, and all the weakness of the mother country, then in fact reduced to little better than a dependency of France.

In reply to their request for military aid after General Beresford's first attack, and under the certainty of its being repeated by a more imposing force, they were told they must defend themselves as they could, for Spain could send them no help.

In the year following (1808) they were threatened with a fresh invasion by the Prince Regent of Portugal, who, from the moment of his reaching the Brazils, seems to have contemplated the possibility of increasing his dominions in America by the annexation of the provinces of the Río de la Plata in right of his wife, the Princess Carlota, a daughter of Charles IV. and sister of King Ferdinand. No sooner had he arrived at Rio de Janeiro than he caused a note to be addressed to the Viceroy and Cabildo of Buenos Ayres, requiring them, on the grounds of the alleged dissolution of the Spanish monarchy, and

the rights accruing to the Princess Carlota from the abdication of her father and the captivity of her brothers, to submit themselves to his protection, and to place themselves under his government; menacing them in case of refusal with hostilities on the part of the Portuguese, aided by their English allies.

A spirited answer from the Cabildo,* expressing their determination to maintain the rights of Spain to the last drop of their blood, and to defend themselves as they had done before against all foreign aggressors, cooled these pretensions of their Portuguese neighbours, whilst it afforded a fresh and undeniable evidence of the unshaken loyalty of the Americans to their lawful Sovereign. They exulted in the fact that they had fought and been victorious under the banner of Spain; that banner associated with so many deeds of glory in former days, and which indeed the descendants of the Conquistadores could never unfurl without a justifiable pride.

If that flag has now ceased to float in the Indies, it was not from any want of loyalty up to that time on the part of the South Americans; nothing could be more unequivocal than the manifestation of feeling in behalf of the Royal family when intelligence was received in America of their detention in France by Buonaparte, of the abdication of the King, and of the appointment by Napoleon of his brother Joseph to fill the vacant throne of Spain in 1808.

The French messenger who brought to Buenos Ayres the first tidings of those occurrences, M. Sastenay, an agent despatched by Buonaparte to secure, as he flattered himself, the ready submission of the people of the Rio de la Plata, and to induce them to swear fealty to his brother Joseph, was received in a manner he little expected. The proclamations of the usurper, of which he was the bearer, were committed to the flames, and he himself was placed under arrest, whilst the authorities proceeded without further delay to proclaim, not Joseph, but Ferdinand VII. as the only lawful successor to Charles IV., and to collect

* See Historical Documents in Appendix.

the voluntary contributions which the people everywhere hastened to raise for the maintenance of his rights.

In the midst of these loyal demonstrations, they received the official announcement of the rising of their countrymen in Spain against the French, and the commencement of that ever memorable struggle which, happily for the liberties of all Europe, was eventually crowned with such signal success.

But the events of the two following years were of a nature sorely to test the constancy of the Spaniards in both hemispheres. An overwhelming French army of more than 300,000 men, commanded by Joseph Buonaparte in person, took possession of all Spain, sweeping every thing before them to the walls of Cadiz, the only place which was enabled to hold out against the invaders at the commencement of 1810. The Supreme Central Junta, till then recognized as the National Government, had been not only dissolved amidst a popular commotion at Seville, upon the approach of the French, but had been accused of treason by the Spaniards themselves; and although replaced by a Regency, being of their own nomination, it seemed doubtful if that was likely any better to maintain its authority.

The Colonies could not but be seriously affected by this state of things, which threw them upon their own resources, and eventually led everywhere to important changes in their condition.

At Buenos Ayres (in 1808), when the intelligence of the abdication of the King and the declaration of war against France was received, the Viceregal Government was in the hands of Don Santiago Liniers, who had been appointed to it as a reward for the gallantry he had displayed in heading the people against the British invasions; but he was by birth a Frenchman, which, in the altered circumstances of Spain, unfortunately for himself, rendered him immediately an object of distrust and jealousy to the old Spaniards.

Elio, the Governor of Monte Video, was the first to give vent publicly to this feeling. He refused to obey his orders, and convoking the inhabitants, established an inde-

pendent junta of the Monte Videans, after the example of those set up in the Peninsula.

Shortly afterwards, in January, 1809, some of the leading Spaniards in the Municipality of Buenos Ayres attempted to do the same; but that movement was put down by Liniers with the aid of the troops, who were personally attached to him, and the parties implicated in it arrested and sent to Patagonia, pending a reference to the Superior Government in Spain. The Central Junta at Seville, upon being informed of what had taken place, and thinking perhaps to calm the public mind, which had been greatly agitated by these events, superseded Liniers, and sent out an old naval officer, Cisneros, to take his place.

But Cisneros went alone, without troops, without arms, without money, and, what was of still more consequence, without any permission to relax in the smallest degree the stringency of those colonial regulations which Spain in the plenitude of her might had established, but which in her altered condition it was impossible for her officers to enforce.

Upon his arrival at Buenos Ayres he found the treasury empty, and a total want of the funds necessary to meet the current expenses of the Government, from the paralyzation of the trade with Spain, and the falling off of the Custom-house Duties in consequence; whilst the people, in want of everything, and with an enormous accumulation of produce on their hands, were clamorous for at least a temporary opening of the ports. Their appeals to that effect were ably advocated by Don Mariano Moreno, one of the most enlightened of their public men, in a memorable memorial in favour of the principles of Free Trade, as opposed to the restrictive commercial policy of Spain, which was irresistible, and there is no doubt very mainly contributed to force upon the Viceroy the all-important measure which he was obliged shortly after to adopt of throwing open the trade of Buenos Ayres to the English and other nations.

But the reluctance which Cisneros had manifested to listen to their applications created great disappointment; and although he was forced at last to give way, the excite-

ment caused by his opposition, at such a time and under such circumstances, to concession, upon a point of such manifest importance to the interests of the Americans, had rendered him extremely unpopular, and tended much to accelerate a crisis for some time preparing, and which was brought on at last by the publication, by Cisneros himself, of the disastrous news from Spain of the progress of the French armies, and the dissolution of the Junta at Seville.

The Viceroy, who had received his appointment from that body, seems to have been totally at a loss, upon receipt of the intelligence, what course to adopt; whilst, on the other hand, his manifest incompetency and vacillation satisfied the people that the time was at last arrived when they were called upon to act for themselves.

A public meeting, summoned at his own desire, on the 25th May, 1810, to deliberate upon the news above mentioned, and the measures which it might be necessary, in consequence, to take, came to the determination to establish, without further delay, in place of the Viceroy's authority, a Provisional Junta to carry on the government in the King's name, as best they could, till better times. An ill-timed attempt made by the old Spaniards to secure a preponderating influence by naming Cisneros President, only led to a counter movement on the part of the people, and to a determination amongst the Americans to exclude *all* Spaniards from the new Junta—a very important resolve in its consequences, and which, following upon the angry feelings already excited amongst the mercantile body (at the time all powerful) at Cadiz by the opening of the trade of Buenos Ayres to other nations, constituted perhaps the real gravamen of the extraordinary offence which seems to have been taken upon receipt of the intelligence of these proceedings in Spain.

The establishment of an American instead of a Spanish Junta was held to be nothing less than an insurrectionary movement against the mother country; the authors of it were denounced as traitors, and the King's officers were commanded to put them down, and to punish them with the utmost severity—orders which unhappily were acted upon but too promptly. They led to a long and bloody struggle,

between the royal forces supported by the old Spaniards on the one side, and the South Americans on the other, in which the most horrible atrocities were perpetrated—the latter, during its continuance, vainly looking forward to the King's restoration for the adoption of a different policy, and a redress of their grievances. It is useless now to say that, if they had been met with kindness and conciliatory measures, there is every reason to believe the colonists would have been found abounding in the same loyal and affectionate feelings for the mother country, of which in other times they had repeatedly given such striking proofs.

Ferdinand VII. was otherwise advised. His only reply to the representations of the South Americans and their prayers for better government was to call them rebels and insurgents, and to assemble fresh armies to subjugate them again to his arbitrary rule. Mediation was rejected till too late; and under these circumstances the people, goaded to desperation, rose in arms, not only in self-defence, but declaring their solemn determination never again to submit themselves to the rule either of Ferdinand or of Spain.

But, withal, such was the attachment of a strong and influential party in the country still to the dynasty of their old monarchs that, although they declared it to be their irrevocable resolution never to submit themselves to King Ferdinand, the Provisional Government set up at Buenos Ayres sent plenipotentiaries to Europe to present a humble memorial to the ex-King, Charles IV., praying him to repair himself to Buenos Ayres, or, if that were impossible, to send out his second son, Don Francisco de Paula, to take upon himself the sovereignty of the country as an independent prince.

This remarkable document is dated London, the 18th of May, 1815, and bears the signatures of Don Manuel Belgrano and Don Bernardino Rivadavia.* It was their last appeal; which failing, in the course of the following year the people of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, who had acquired a knowledge of their own real strength and importance, under the conviction forced upon them that they had nothing to hope, and all to fear, from the

* See Historical Documents in Appendix.

mother country, proclaimed themselves to be the masters of their own destinies.

On the 9th of July, 1816, deputies from all the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, assembled in congress at Tucuman, solemnly declared their separation from Spain, and their determination to constitute a free and independent State, in the following terms:—

“ We, the Representatives of the United Provinces of South America in General Congress assembled, invoking that supreme Being who presides over the universe, and in the name of and by the authority of the People we represent, asserting before Heaven, and all the nations of the earth, the justice of this our resolution, do hereby solemnly declare it to be the unanimous and indisputable determination of the People of these provinces to break the bonds which have hitherto bound them to the Kings of Spain—to recover those natural rights of which they had been deprived, and to take upon themselves the character of a Free Nation, independent of King Ferdinand the Seventh, of his successors, and of Spain, with full and ample power in consequence de facto and de jure to establish for themselves such form of Government as existing circumstances may render necessary.

“ On behalf of all and every one of them we do publish and declare the same, and pledge them to carry into effect this their fixed resolve with their lives, their fortunes, and their fame.

“ Wherefore, Be this duly published for the information of all whom it may concern.

“ Further, considering what is due to other nations, a separate manifesto shall be addressed to them, setting forth in detail the grave and weighty reasons which have led to this our solemn Declaration.

“ Given in the Hall of our Meetings, signed by our hands, and sealed with the seal of the Congress, and duly countersigned by the Secretaries thereof, in the city of San Miguel de Tucuman, this the 9th day of July, 1816.”

BUENOS AYRES

AND THE

PROVINCES OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA.

PART II.

PLAZA DE LA VICTORIA AT BUENOS AYRES.



1. THE CATHEDRAL.
2. CHURCH OF LA MERCED.
3. THE FORTRESS.



THE CABILDO.

4. CUSTOM HOUSE.
5. CHURCH OF SAN FRANCISCO.
6. CHURCH OF SAN DOMINGO.



CHAPTER VII.

The Argentine Republic — Territorial Extent and Divisions — Separation of Paraguay, the Banda Oriental, and Bolivia — Isolation of the Provinces — Rise of Federalism — Overthrow of the Supreme Government — French Scheme for a Monarchy for the Duke of Lucca — Rise and Progress of the Provincial Government of Buenos Ayres — Weakness of the Provinces — Delegation of Extraordinary Powers to General Rosas, provisionally — Comparison of the State of the South Americans with that of the People of the United States when emancipated — Slow Progress of the former in their Political Organization — Why — Recognition of their Independence and Treaties made with them by Great Britain.

THE United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, or, as they are sometimes called, the Argentine Republic, comprise the whole of that vast space (with the exception of Paraguay and the Banda Oriental, which are now separate and independent states) lying between Brazil and the Cordillera of the Andes, and extending from the 22nd to the 41st degrees of south latitude. The most southern settlement of the Buenos Ayreans as yet is the little town of Del Carmen, on the Rio Negro. The native Indians are in undisturbed possession of all beyond to Cape Horn.

Generally speaking, the Republic may be described as bounded on the north by Bolivia, on the west by Chile,

on the east by Paraguay, the river Uruguay, which divides it from the Banda Oriental, and the Atlantic Ocean, and on the south by the Indians of Patagonia.

Altogether it contains about 726,000 square miles English, as computed by Mr. Arrowsmith, with a population of from 600,000 to 700,000 inhabitants,* exclusive of Indians variously estimated at from 50,000 to 100,000, including every tribe from the Gran Chaco to the southernmost parts of Patagonia.

Politically, this vast territory is now subdivided into thirteen Provinces, assuming to govern themselves more or less independently of each other, though for all national purposes united in one general Confederation.

For want of a more defined national executive, the provincial government of Buenos Ayres, invested with extraordinary powers, is temporarily charged with carrying on the business of this Confederation with foreign nations, and with the management of all matters appertaining to the common interests of the Republic. The executive power of that Government, as constituted in 1821, is vested in the Governor or Captain-General, as he is styled, aided by a council of ministers appointed by himself—responsible to the Sala, or Legislative Assembly of the province, by whom he is elected. The Junta consists of forty-four deputies, one-half of whom are annually renewed by popular election.

Geographically, these Provinces may be divided into three principal sections:—

1st. The Riverine Provinces, or those on either side of the Paraná, viz., Buenos Ayres and Santa Fé on the right, and Entre Rios and Corrientes on the left bank of that river.

2nd. Those called the Upper Provinces, (*Provincias arribeñas*,) on the high road to Peru, viz., Cordova, Santiago del Estero, Tucuman, and Salta, with Jujuy, to which may be added Catamarca and La Rioja.

3rd. The Provinces of Cuyo, to the west of Buenos Ayres, and at the foot of the Cordillera of the Andes,

* See Appendix for Estimates of the Population.

viz., San Luis, Mendoza, and San Juan, which formerly constituted a separate Intendancy, known by that name, and subject to the Government of Chile.

All these together now form the Confederation of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata.

Under the Spanish rule the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres comprehended further the provinces of Upper Peru, now called Bolivia, as well as Paraguay and the Banda Oriental; and, immense as this jurisdiction appears for one Government, it was but a portion separated from that of the old Viceroys of Peru, whose nominal authority at one time extended from Guayaquil to Cape Horn, over 55 degrees of latitude, comprising almost every habitable climate under the sun, people of various races, speaking different languages, and every production which can minister to the wants of man.

To Spain it was a convenience and saving of expense to divide her American possessions into as few governments as possible; and under her colonial system, without a hope of improving their social condition, their native industry discouraged, and the very fruits of the soil forbidden them, lest they should interfere with the sale of those of the mother country, it was of little consequence to the generality of the people by what Viceroy they were ruled, or at what distance from them he resided.

It became, however, a very different matter when that colonial system was overthrown, and to be replaced by governments of their own election. Then, as the many and various distinctions of races, of language, of habits, of climate, and productions, burst into notice, and separately put forth their claims to consideration, it became obvious that the necessity would, sooner or later, arise of dividing and subdividing into distinct and separate governments the immense and unwieldy jurisdictions of the old viceroyalties.

Unfortunately in most instances these changes have been brought about by violent means, which have tended greatly to retard the social organization and improvement of the people; and in no part of South America has this been more strikingly exemplified than in the

widely-spread provinces of the old Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres.

During the struggle with the mother country, one common object, paramount to all other considerations, the complete establishment of their political independence, bound them together; but the very circumstances of that struggle, and the vicissitudes of the war, which often for long periods cut off their communications with their old metropolis and with each other, obliging them to provide separately for their own temporary government and security, gave rise, especially in those at a distance, to habits of independence, which, as they acquired strength, loosened more or less the ties which bound them to Buenos Ayres, and in some cases produced an entire separation.

Paraguay set the example, and, after asserting her right to manage her own affairs, virtually established at least a provisional independence by defeating a Buenos Ayrean army sent to reduce her to obedience.

The Banda Oriental was also separated from the authority of the capital by the notorious Artigas, whose anarchical proceedings, fraught with the most fatal consequences to the peace of the Republic, afforded a plausible pretext for the occupation of Monte Video by their Portuguese neighbours—the cause eventually of a long and ruinous war between the Republic and Brazil, which was only terminated by British mediation, and by the territory in question being erected into a new and independent state in 1828.*

The provinces of Upper Peru, comprising the rich mineral districts of Potosi, in old times the most valued portion of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, were no sooner completely freed from the Spanish yoke by the victories of Bolivar, than they too set up a government of their own, under one of his generals, Sucre, assuming the name of Bolivia, in honour of their “Liberator,” in 1825.

Thus was Buenos Ayres dismembered of the most important of her old dependencies, whilst the provinces which remained nominally in connexion with her have

* As the Treaty establishing the independence of the Banda Oriental becomes of interest from late events in the Rio

de la Plata, I have added it to the other historical documents given in the Appendix.

only done so upon terms barely justifying their continuing to call themselves the *United* Provinces of the Rio de la Plata.

Under the rule of Spain the Viceroyalty was divided into several Intendancies or provinces, governed by "Intendentes," as they were styled, with the assistance of the Cabildos, or municipal corporations, which existed in all the principal cities or townships. Submissive and unproductive under the Spanish rule, the authorities fixed in the capital troubled themselves little about them: there was nothing then to disturb their domestic peace—nothing to make them emulous of fame or improvement—nothing to require interference with the administration of the Colonial laws by their own petty Cabildos and Alcaldes; and such a state of things was perhaps almost a necessary consequence of the enormous distances which separated them *de facto* from each other and from the capital, and which under any circumstances must make it a very difficult attempt to govern them in any other manner.

Of the Upper Provinces, Cordova, the nearest and most important of these townships, is no less than 500 miles; Salta, the frontier town on the same line, is 1200; and Mendoza, the principal town of the Province of Cuyo, is 900 miles from Buenos Ayres. Santa Fé, the nearest of the towns of the Riverine Provinces, is 300 miles, and Corrientes more than double that distance, up the Paraná.

After the deposition of the Viceroy the Executive Junta (Junta Gubernativa) appointed to replace his authority, in their desire to secure the cordial co-operation of the Provinces, invited these same Cabildos to send representatives to Buenos Ayres to take part in their first administrative measures—and although this was not unopposed at the time, and was of very short duration, it sufficed to give them a degree of importance to which they had never before aspired, whilst the recognition of *Provincialism* as apparently a necessary element in the new government, contributed, there is no doubt, naturally enough to the notion of a federal instead of central system of government, subsequently put forward in opposition to the views

of the dominant party in Buenos Ayres, and which has since been the pretext for so much strife and contention.

Nevertheless for the first ten years after the substitution of an American Junta for a Spanish Viceroy in 1810, the supreme government of the provinces in question continued to be exercised by the ruling authorities successively set up at Buenos Ayres.

A Constituent Assembly, convoked in 1813, after an experiment at a Triumvirate, vested the Executive Power in a Supreme Director; an arrangement provisionally confirmed by the General Congress which succeeded it, and which proclaimed the absolute independence of the Republic in 1816.

But the governments so set up, in their embryo independence, uncertain as to the issue, weak and unstable, one day democratic, another despotic, distracted by conflicting parties, and with but small knowledge or experience for the task committed to them, soon found themselves too feeble to make themselves respected, or to enforce their authority whenever it happened to be opposed to the views of the petty chiefs who in the first years of the Revolution obtained an ephemeral importance in some of the distant provinces and towns in the interior.

Artigas first, in the Banda Oriental, and then the chiefs of the adjoining provinces of Entre Rios, Corrientes, and Santa Fé, who fell under his baneful influence, took the lead in raising a cry for a federation, in opposition to the central power established at Buenos Ayres. They called out for a government like that of the United States of North America, although apparently in total ignorance that the end and aim of the North American Federation was "Union and Strength"—"*E pluribus unum.*"

The cry, however, was responded to, and led to serious dissensions, fomented, there is no doubt, by influential parties secretly opposed to the independence of the country, who thought to further the views of Spain by involving it in inextricable confusion. There seems indeed but too much reason to believe that, whilst the people were heartily embarked in the cause, and making extraordinary sacrifices for the establishment of their independence, some even

of their own leaders were actuated by very different views.

Still, the General Congress had been charged to draw up a Constitution; and so long as that which was to fix their future political condition was under discussion, the Supreme Director, supported by the majority of the deputies, was able to maintain his position. In spite of intrigues and all other opposition the grand struggle for the liberation of the country from the dominion of Spain was accomplished; and, by the extraordinary exertions of General San Martin, Chile was freed from the yoke of the mother country, and Lima, the capital of Peru, was taken possession of by his victorious troops.

It was whilst the forces of Buenos Ayres were em-



(José de San Martin, died 1850, aged 72.)

NOTE.—“I have proclaimed the independence of Chile and of Peru; I have taken the standard with which Pizarro came to enslave the empire of the Incas; and I have ceased to be a public man. . . . I have fulfilled my promises to the countries for which I have fought: I have given them independence.”—*Vide Proclamation of General San Martin on quitting Peru in 1822.*

ployed at a distance in preparing these triumphs, and the Government was left without any adequate force to carry it out, that the Congress unfortunately thought fit to produce the result of their labours—a Constitution which the provincial Governors were in no humour to accept or quietly to submit to;—based, as it was, not upon the plan of a Federation, which many of them insisted upon, but upon a system of Centralization, perpetuating in a Chief Magistrate resident at Buenos Ayres very extensive civil and military powers over the whole republic, and amongst others that of appointing the Governors of the provinces, they naturally looked upon it as an arrangement to curtail, if not to deprive, them of their own authority; and, with arms in their hands, it is not surprising, considering what the men were, that they should have determined this should not be without a struggle.

The dissident chiefs, not satisfied with repudiating in toto the new Constitution, rose in angry and open hostility against the existing authorities, and the whole country became involved in civil war and confusion.

The resignation of Puyerrredon, who for nearly four years had held the office of Supreme Director, only gave fresh confidence to the insurgents, and, before measures could be taken to avert it, the city of Buenos Ayres was suddenly invaded and taken possession of by their half savage followers, the Congress was dissolved, and the Government of the Directory broken up.

In palliation of their violence, the Federal Chiefs, as they styled themselves, accused the Congress and the Government of a treasonable design to convert the republic into a monarchy for the young Duke of Lucca, under the protection of France; and the publication of the secret correspondence* of Don Valentin Gomez, their agent at Paris, containing the particulars of a scheme to that effect which had been proposed to them by the French ministry, had all the effect they intended, of destroying the confidence of the public in the parties who had hitherto ruled the country, and so completed their own triumph.

This was in 1820, memorable as the most calamitous

* See Historical Documents in Appendix.

year in the annals of the new republic. As might have been expected, the party which had thus succeeded in putting down the powers established at Buenos Ayres, proved utterly incapable of constructing anything like a Federal Government in their place : and it soon became manifest, so far as the Provincial Chiefs were concerned, that their main object was to maintain their own petty authority free from the interference or control of any superior authority whatever.

Amidst the anarchy and confusion that followed the overthrow of the supreme Government, not only the provinces recognised as such, but almost every township which could boast of a cabildo or municipal corporation, asserted its independence of the capital ; and whilst it was more than ever doubtful whether there existed elements for the formation of even one respectable government, no less than thirteen were set up at once, multiplying their difficulties enormously.

It was under these circumstances that the people of Buenos Ayres and of the province so called, restricted solely to their own concerns, established in 1821 for the first time their separate Sala or representative chamber and executive power in the form in which it still subsists. And although, at their invitation in 1824, another General Congress of Deputies from all the provinces was assembled to settle, if possible, something more definite as to the form at least of their national government, and another constitution for the republic was promulgated, being again based on a system of centralization, to which the Provinces were opposed, it proved, after a short-lived experiment, as abortive as the former in its results ; and only led to fresh dissensions from the attempts of the President Rivadavia to force upon them what they were unprepared at the time to submit to.

Since that time (1827) the national organization of this republic has been limited to the slender and precarious ties of voluntary confederation which at present constitute the so-called Union of the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata.

Although the dissolution of the Supreme Government in 1820 as abovementioned seemed at the time to detract

not a little from the importance of Buenos Ayres, it has not perhaps in some respects proved disadvantageous to her interests: the curtailment of their jurisdiction enabled her governors more exclusively and effectually to direct their attention to concerns within their immediate reach, and to the consolidation of the provincial institutions which they had set up.

An interval of peace which followed the intestine dissensions above related, was turned to good account, and for a time men of all parties laying aside their differences seemed only desirous to promote the same object, the establishment of the credit and character of their country. Never perhaps did the affairs of the people of Buenos Ayres present so promising an appearance as in the first years of the existence of their provincial administration; and although this was followed by the hard-fought struggle with Brazil for the liberation of the Banda Oriental, it became manifest from the very results of that struggle that their resources were greatly beyond what had been supposed, and that even single-handed—for they were little assisted by the provinces—the Buenos Ayreans were enabled to resist successfully all the power which the Emperor of Brazil could bring against them.

Notwithstanding other lamentable differences with still more powerful nations, and a long and most destructive civil war, they have increased their territorial possessions, their population, and resources of all kinds, the results of a thriving trade with foreign countries which has made their city one of the first commercial emporiums in South America.

On the other hand, the people of the interior have gained anything but real importance from their state of isolation: most of the provinces have suffered all the calamitous consequences of party struggles for power, and have fallen under the arbitrary rule of military chiefs, who have in turn, either by fair means or foul, obtained the ascendancy over their competitors; and if in some the semblance of a representative Junta or Sala has been set up in imitation of that of Buenos Ayres, it will be found, I believe, that such assemblies have in most instances proved little more than

a convocation of the partisans of the Governor for the time being, much more likely to confirm than to control his despotic sway.

Without any defined league or general engagement amongst themselves, even to guarantee the integrity of the Republic, or anything like a congress or representative body to watch over their common interests since the dissolution of that in 1827, they have been obliged to delegate to the executive Government of Buenos Ayres the sole and entire charge of all their national concerns—their defence in war—the maintenance of their foreign relations—the management of the public debt—and of all matters of common interest to the republic at large—a trust which, in virtue of the unlimited powers conferred upon General Rosas, the present Governor of Buenos Ayres, has become, *de facto*, vested, with all its duties and responsibilities, in one single individual—a strange ending of a struggle for Federalism.

The pretext for giving these extraordinary powers to General Rosas has been the civil and foreign wars in which the Republic has been engaged for many years past. That however cannot last for ever; and for the respectability as well as interests of the Republic it seems to be admitted by all parties that the sooner their national Government can be placed upon a more constitutional and promising footing the better.

Under the present circumstances of the provinces, and after the failure of so many constituent congresses, it has been suggested that this object might perhaps be brought about with the least amount of difficulty or risk of causing the people of the interior any fresh fears for their provincial independence, by their agreeing to the occasional convocation of a *Diet*, something like that of the Germanic States at Frankfort, under the recognised presidency of the Government of Buenos Ayres, which might be as limited as they please in its objects, and strictly confined to conferences upon matters affecting the interests of the Confederation in common. Some such arrangement would realize the Form as well as the Name of a Confederation.

It is not my purpose to attempt more than a general

outline of the events which have led to this state of things in the Argentine Republic, or to enter into the details of the party struggles and domestic troubles which have been so fatal to the progress of their social organization: it would be a thankless office to attempt to do so in the still excited state of parties in those countries, and would be of little interest, even if it could be made intelligible, to English readers. As one of their own ministers once observed to me, "Theirs is as yet but the A B C of government, the beginnings of which, like the foundation-stones of a new building, are perhaps better kept out of view."

I may, however, observe that if the people of these provinces have made as yet but small progress compared with what was expected of them, the same difficulty in arriving at any settled political organization is equally manifest in all the new Spanish American States, although under circumstances very dissimilar as regards their locality, climate, wants and physical condition, with hardly one common element, in fact, amongst them, save their having been all brought up in, and habituated to, the same colonial system of the old mother country which seems to have been so effectual, as doubtless it was intended to be, in unfitting the people for a state of civil liberty and independence, and rendering them helpless as children when left to themselves and thrown upon their own resources.

Our ignorance in England of the real state of the people of South America when they first separated from Spain, naturally led us to look back to what had taken place in our own North American colonies, and, with but little discrimination perhaps, to anticipate the same rapid advance in their social condition, whereas nothing in reality could be more dissimilar than the circumstances of the colonial subjects of Great Britain and Spain when their political emancipation took place.

In the British Colonies the foundations of good government were already laid, the principles of civil administration were perfectly understood, and the transition was almost imperceptible. On the other hand, in the Spanish

Colonies the whole policy of the mother country seems to have been based on perpetuating the servile state and ignorance of the natives: branded as an inferior race, they were, with rare exceptions, excluded from all offices of trust and honour in the civil, military, or ecclesiastical departments of the government, from commerce, and every other pursuit which might tend to the development of native talent or industry. The very history of their own country was withheld from them, no doubt lest it should open their eyes to the reality of their condition.*

When the struggle came, the question of their independence was soon settled irrevocably; but as to the elements for the construction at once of anything like a good government of their own, they certainly did not exist. Under these circumstances what was perfectly natural took place; in the absence of any other real power, that of military command, which had grown out of the war, obtained an ascendancy, the influence of which in all the new States became soon apparent. They fell, in fact, all of them more or less under military despotism; the people, dazzled with the victories and martial achievements of their leaders, imperceptibly passed from one yoke to another. It is true that National Congresses and Legislative Assemblies were everywhere convoked; but generally aiming at more than was practicable or compatible with their circumstances, they in most instances failed, and by their failure rather confirmed the absolute power of the military chiefs.

* The following Decree, prohibiting Robertson's 'History of America,' by Galvez, the Spanish Minister in 1779, must be seen to be believed:—

"CIRCULAR.

"El Exmo. Sr. virey de estas provincias en oficio de 7 del presente me dice lo siguiente.

"El Sr. D. José de Galvez, en carta de 22 de Diciembre del año próximo pasado, me dice lo siguiente: El Dr. Guillermo Robertson, Rector de la Universidad de Edinburgo, y cronista de Escocia, ha escrito y publicado, en idioma Ingles, la historia del descubrimiento de la America; y teniendo el rey justos motivos para que dicha obra no se introduzca en España ni sus Indias, ha resuelto su ma-

gestad, que con el mayor rigor y vigilancia, se impida su embarco para las Americas, y Filipinas, ni en el idioma Ingles, ni en ningun otro á que se ha traducido, ó se traduzca: y que si hubiese algunas partidas, ó ejemplares de dicha obra, en los puertos de unos ú otros dominios, ó introducidos ya tierra á dentro, se detengan y embarguen á disposicion del ministerio de mi cargo. Y de su real orden, se lo participo á V. E. para que tomando las providencias mas estrechas y convenientes en esta jurisdiccion, tenga el debido cumplimiento esta resolusion: cuya real orden traslado á V. S. literal, a fin de que espida las mas eficaces, y conducentes á su cumplimiento, en esta jurisdiccion de su cargo."

the forged or doctored the all important racial question. What did the British mean and half breed

The South Americans, however, abolished the slave trade, put an end to the tribute money and the mita, or forced service of the Indians,—to the Inquisition, and the use of the torture; passed laws to secure the person from arbitrary arrest; nominally sanctioned, more or less, the liberty of the press; and invited foreigners to establish themselves in the country—measures which gained them popularity and support amongst men of liberal principles in Europe, who fancied they saw in them evidences of a fitness amongst the people at large for free institutions; but this was an error.

The people of South America shouted, indeed, with their leaders, “Independence and Liberty,” and gallantly fought for and established the first; but as to Liberty, in our sense of the word, they knew very little about it: how could they?

To speak of the people of the provinces of La Plata: up to the period when they assumed the management of their own affairs, throughout the whole of that vast extent of country from Lima to Buenos Ayres, more than a thousand leagues, including many cities and populous towns, with their universities and colleges, and schools, and tribunals of justice, civil and ecclesiastical, there was but one miserable old printing press known to exist, which had formerly belonged to the Jesuits of Cordova.* In the greater part of the provinces there is no such thing to this day.

The Code of the Indies, devised for a totally different state of things—for bondsmen, not freemen—the real yoke of the mother country, is still hanging about their necks. They have yet practically to learn that true liberty in a civilised state of society can only really exist where the powers of the ruling authorities are duly defined and counterbalanced, and where the laws—not the colonial laws of Old Spain—are so administered by honest and independent Judges as to ensure to every member of the community entire security of person as well as of property, prompt redress for wrongs, and the right of freely expressing his political opinions.

* See Pazos' Letters on the United Provinces of South America, addressed to the Hon. Henry Clay. 1819.

Economic Liberty?

It is the working of such laws that makes men really free, and fit for the enjoyment of free institutions; but such a state of things is not brought about in a day, or in a generation, nor can it be produced by any parchment Constitution, however perfect in theory.

To quote the words of one of our own most eminent Constitutional authorities,—“There is no such thing as Liberty in the abstract: it cannot result from a single law, nor even from the will of the people; it must be bound up with, and form part of, the customs and usages which distinguish one nation from another.” “The most perfect system of laws in theory, as well as the most perfect forms of government which the philosopher can devise, are of no force unless they have been rendered by usage congenial to the feelings and manners of the people. ‘*Quid leges sine moribus?*’ says the poet, who speaks only the language of truth in saying that laws avail nothing unless founded upon the habits and usages of a nation.”*

If the experiment has so often failed in some of the oldest states of Europe, is it reasonable that we should expect it to be more successful in such infant states as these new Republics, where the whole of an ancient system—and that a Spanish one—must be remodelled according to the requirements of an entirely new state of the population?

Time—and we of all people in the world ought best to know how long a time—is requisite to bring such good fruit to maturity. Education, the Press, a more frequent intercourse with the rest of the world, and experience not the less valuable because dearly bought, are all tending gradually to enlighten the inhabitants of these new countries, and to prepare them for their future destinies.

Spain, knowing as she did the consequences of her own colonial system, and the incapacity for self-government in which it had left the South Americans, might well urge that as an argument against the recognition of their independence by other countries; but it was to little purpose she did so when it was manifest to all the world that her

* Lord Abinger’s Charge to the Grand Jury of Leicester in 1839.

own power to reduce them again to subjection was gone for ever, and that the people of South America had not only achieved their complete independence, but were resolved and able to maintain it.

The notoriety of those facts, whatever might be the speculative opinions of some parties as to the eventual prospects of the new States, left no alternative to foreign governments, whose subjects had naturally availed themselves of such a state of things to open an extensive commercial intercourse with the people of those countries, and for the due protection of whose interests it became necessary that they should provide, but to establish suitable and recognized relations with the authorities set up in place of those of the mother country.

And here I think it is but due to Great Britain to remark, that although of all others she was the power most interested in the result, she showed no desire to precipitate a crisis prejudicial to her old ally. It is notorious that the British Government had for years repeatedly urged upon Spain the necessity of her making some amicable arrangement with her old Colonies, exhorting her not to lose the opportunity, whilst it was still open to her, of securing such commercial advantages for herself as she had a fair right to expect in any final arrangement with them, and emphatically warning her "of the dangers of delay, and the rapid progress of events."

But Spain did nothing, thought of nothing, but of being still "Spain and the Indies;" nor did she awake from that dream till the latter had passed away from her dominion, to all appearance for ever.

Then it was (in 1822) that the Marquis of Londonderry was obliged distinctly to declare the conviction of the British Government, "that so large a portion of the world could not long continue without some recognized and established relations, and that the State, which neither by its councils nor by its arms could effectually assert its own rights over its dependencies so as to enforce obedience, and thus make itself responsible for maintaining their relations with other powers, must sooner or later be prepared to see those relations established

by the overruling necessity of the case in some other form.”*

Two years later, his successor, Mr. Canning, finding further appeals to Spain unavailing, and urged on by the progress of events in Europe as well as in America, proceeded to open direct negotiations with the free governments of Buenos Ayres, Mexico, and Columbia, for commercial treaties, the conclusion of which was virtually to all intents and purposes a recognition of their political independence by Great Britain.

In justification of those measures when complained of by Spain, Mr. Canning thus set forth the exigencies of the case, and the international law which rendered it impossible in the opinion of the British Government longer to defer them. “To continue,” he said, “to call that a possession of Spain, in which all Spanish occupation and power had been actually extinguished and effaced, could render no practical service to the mother country, but it would have risked the peace of the world; for all political communities are responsible to other political communities for their conduct; that is, they are bound to perform the ordinary international duties, and to afford redress for any violation of the rights of others by their citizens or subjects: now either the mother country must have continued responsible for acts over which it could no longer exercise the shadow of a control; or the inhabitants of those countries whose independent political existence was in fact established, but to whom the acknowledgment of that independence was denied, must have been placed in a situation in which they were either wholly irresponsible for all their actions, or were to be visited for such of those actions as might furnish ground of complaint to other nations, with the punishment due to pirates and outlaws.

“If the former of these alternatives—the total irresponsibility of unrecognized States—be too absurd to be maintained; and if the latter, the treatment of their inhabitants as pirates and outlaws, be too monstrous to be applied for an indefinite length of time to a large portion of the habitable globe; no other choice remained for Great Britain,

* See Papers laid before Parliament.

or for any country having intercourse with the Spanish American provinces, but to recognize in due time their political existence as States, and thus to bring them within the pale of those rights and duties which civilised nations are bound mutually to respect, and are entitled reciprocally to claim for each other."

The United States of North America, taking a similar view, had even preceded us in establishing diplomatic relations with the new republics, and the example was followed by other governments as their subjects became commercially engaged with the people of those countries, and required such protection for their interests.

The treaties made by Great Britain with the South Americans in 1824, have now subsisted for upwards of a quarter of a century : stipulating, as Mr. Canning said, for no exclusive privileges, no invidious preferences, but establishing equal freedom of commerce for all, they have become the basis of their commercial relations with all other countries, which have thus been uniformly fixed from the first upon sound and liberal principles. I need hardly add that they have proved of great importance to British subjects settled in those countries under very unlooked for circumstances—especially in the case of Buenos Ayres.

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BUENOS AIRES.



Landing Place and Alameda.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival at Rio de Janeiro — Reach the Rio de la Plata — A Pampero — Enormous width of the River — Anchorage off Buenos Ayres — Landing there — First impressions of the City — Public Buildings — Interior of the Houses — Want of comfort — Since improved by Foreigners — Water how obtained — Pavement of Granite from Martin Garcia — Quintas and Gardens — Flowers and Fruits — The Agavé and Cactus — Humming Birds — Case of one domesticated.

I ARRIVED at Rio de Janeiro in February, 1824, after a favourable passage of forty days from England in H.M.S. "Cambridge." Much as I had heard and read of the beauties of that magnificent harbour, my expectations were more than realized. Nothing in Europe can compare with the splendid and varied scenery, clothed, as I saw it, in all the glories of that dense and wonderful vegetation only to be found in inter-tropical climes.

The heat, however, was at that season almost intolerable to one unaccustomed to it, and made me doubly anxious to reach my destination in the cooler regions of the Rio de la Plata; but our great eighty-gun ship was to go round Cape Horn, and required not only much refitting, but caulking also, which detained us three weeks longer before we could proceed on our voyage.

I would fain have embarked in a merchant vessel which sailed a few days after our arrival direct for Buenos Ayres, but every berth was occupied by other passengers, and happily for us it was so, for the first thing we heard on reaching Monte Video was that she had been totally wrecked on one of the islands at the entrance of the river, and many of the passengers lost in attempting to reach the main land upon a raft.

We had hardly cast anchor there ourselves when we were telegraphed by Sir Murray Maxwell, who was lying off the Mount in command of H.M.S. "Briton," to make all fast against a coming storm, of which the barometer, as experience had taught him, was giving timely notice. Dark clouds came flying fast before a strong south-westerly gale, which soon increased to little short of a hurricane, accompanied by the most terrific thunder and lightning. Our big ship drifted before it, and was not brought up till all her enormous chain cable was out, and she became immoveable in a mass of mud.

This was a pampero. For nearly 24 hours it raged without intermission; then the wind changed and all became still, and we were once more cheered by the sight of a bright blue sky; but the river, stirred up by the recent storm, might more properly have been called a yellow sea, from its turbid waters and vast extent.

At its entrance, between Cape St. Mary and Cape St. Antonio, its width is 170 miles; further up, from Santa Lucia near Monte Video, where we were lying, to the point of Las Piedras on the southern shore, it is 53 miles across—about double the distance from Dover to Calais; but for its positive freshness a stranger can hardly credit he is not still at sea. The depth, however, is in no proportion to the extent of this mighty mass of waters.* Above Monte Video, except in the channel between the Ortiz and Chico banks, the soundings do not average 20 feet.

It was not deemed safe for H.M.S. "Cambridge," from her draught of water, to attempt to go higher, and we were in consequence obliged to embark at Monte Video on board a small schooner, employed as a sort of packet between that place and Buenos Ayres, and commanded by an Englishman, who was considered one of the best pilots for the river.

* The depth of the river, generally speaking, may be said very much to depend upon the wind. After any prevalence of northerly or westerly winds, it falls considerably, especially in the upper part of it above the Ortiz bank. On the

other hand, with a strong easterly or southerly wind, it will rise from six to sometimes twelve feet; then the weather is generally cool and pleasant, with a clear sky. Northerly winds bring rain.

We left in the evening, and at daylight next morning were in sight of the southern shore, though nearly twenty miles out of our reckoning, from the force of the stream. The masts of several wrecked and sunken vessels were pointed out to us, standing above the level of the waters—sad warnings of the dangers of the passage. It appeared that in the past month no less than three English vessels had been lost in that part of the river, the cargoes of which were valued at nearly £100,000.

Lighthouses have been since erected, the most dangerous parts of the river are buoyed, and licensed pilots ply off its mouth to take vessels either into the harbour of Monte Video or up to Buenos Ayres. With their help, and the excellent charts and sailing directions which have been published, the navigation is made tolerably safe for the vast number of merchant vessels which are continually on their passage up and down the river.*

At daybreak on the second morning from our quitting Monte Video we were off Buenos Ayres. Ships drawing fifteen or sixteen feet must anchor seven or eight miles distant, hardly within sight, from whence, unless the weather is settled, the landing is not unattended with danger, especially in foggy weather, which is very common in the winter time; but our craft being small we ran at once into what are called the inner roads, abreast of the city, from which it is seen in its full extent ranging along the slightly elevated ridge which there bounds the southern shore of the river—the towers of the churches alone breaking an outline almost as level as the opposite horizon of the waters. There is no background to the picture—no mountains, no forests: one vast continuous plain beyond extends for 800 miles unbroken to the Cordillera of the Andes.

Nothing can be more inconvenient than the actual landing. A ship's boat has seldom water enough to run

* See particularly Captain Heywood's "Remarks concerning the Winds, Weather, Tides, &c., in the River Plate," 1813; and "Sailing Directions for South America, by Captains King and Fitz-Roy," published by the Hydrographic Office, Admiralty, 1850; also the Charts published by the same office.

fairly on shore, and, on arriving within forty or fifty yards of it, is beset by carts in the water always on the watch for passengers, the whole turn out of which is strikingly characteristic of the country. On the broad, flat axle of a gigantic pair of wheels, seven or eight feet high, a sort of platform is fixed of half a dozen boards, two or three inches apart, letting in the wet at every splash of the water beneath: the ends are open; a rude hurdle forms the side, and a short, strong pole from the axle completes the vehicle. To this unwieldy machine the horse is simply attached by a ring at the end of the pole, fastened to the girth or surcingle, round which his driver has the power of turning him as on a pivot, and of either drawing or pushing the machine along like a wheelbarrow, as may be momentarily most convenient. In this manner, for the first time in my life, I saw the cart fairly before the horse; in Europe we laugh at the idea, in South America nothing is more common than the reality.



(Cart for landing Passengers.)

The wild and savage appearance of the tawny drivers of these carts, half naked, shouting and screaming and jostling one another, and flogging their miserable jaded beasts through the water, as if to show the little value attached to the brute creation in these countries, is enough to startle a stranger on his first arrival, and induce him to doubt whether he be really landing in a Christian country.

In old times there was a mole which ran some way into the river, and obviated a part of these inconveniences, but it was washed down many years ago, and the people have been too indolent, or too much occupied with other things ever since, to restore it. Nothing is more wanted, or more deserving the primary attention of the authorities, whilst I believe no work they could undertake would more certainly repay its expenses; for the convenience to passengers is a small consideration compared with the value which any commodious landing-place for merchandise at Buenos Ayres would be of to the trade. The loss and damage yearly sustained by the present mode of carrying goods on shore—for goods as well as passengers are so landed—in the rude carts I have described is incalculable, and highly detrimental to the port in a commercial point of view.

If my first feelings on being carted ashore at Buenos Ayres in the uncouth manner above mentioned were none of the most agreeable, they soon passed off, and gave way to different impressions.

As I walked through the town I was struck with the regularity of the streets, the appearance of the public buildings and churches, and the cheerful aspect of the white stuccoed houses, but still more with the independent air of the people, a striking contrast to the slavery and squalid misery with which we had been so disgusted at Rio de Janeiro.

Buenos Ayres, like all other cities in Spanish America, is built upon the uniform plan prescribed by the laws of the Indies, consisting of straight streets intersecting each other at right angles every 150 yards, and forming squares ("quadras" as they are called there) very like those of a chessboard.

With the exception of the churches, which, though unfinished externally, exhibit in their interior all the attractions of the religion to which they belong, and will be lasting memorials of the Jesuits who built the greater part of them, there is nothing remarkable in the style of the public buildings.



(Calle de la Reconquista and Church of San Francisco.)

The old Government considered money laid out in beautifying the city as so much thrown away upon the colonists, and the new Government has been as yet too poor to do more than has been absolutely necessary; what has been done, however, has been well done, and does credit to the republican authorities, especially the completion of the Cathedral.

In their private dwellings there was a wretched want

of European comforts when I first arrived in the country. With but few exceptions they were limited to a ground-floor, the rooms, all en suite, opening one into another, without intervening passages, and their whole arrangement about as primitive and inconvenient as can be imagined.

The floors were of bricks or tiles, the rafters of the roof seldom hid by a ceiling, and the walls as cold as whitewash could make them; the furniture generally of the most tawdry North American manufacture, and a few highly-coloured French prints serving to mark the extent of the taste for fine arts in South America.

In cold weather these cold-looking rooms were heated by braziers, at the risk of choking the inmates with the fumes of charcoal; chimneys were regarded as certain conductors of wet and cold; and it was not till long after their introduction by the European residents had practically proved their safety and superiority over the old Spanish warming-pans that the natives could be induced to try them. The apprehension that they increased the risk of fire was even without foundation, the floors and roofs being, as I have already said, all of brick, and the few beams which are necessary for supporting them of a wood from Paraguay, as hard as teak and almost as incombustible as the bricks themselves.

I have perhaps rather a sensitive recollection of the prejudices of the natives about chimneys, from finding but one in the rooms which had been engaged for my family as a temporary lodging on my first arrival, and which, just as it was most needed, when it was beginning to get wet and cold, the landlord most effectually rendered useless by bricking up at the top, as the most summary mode of terminating a dispute which he had got into with my servant as to the necessity of sweeping it before the winter set in. No entreaty or remonstrance could shake the obstinate determination of the old Don. He had the advantage of us by living in the apartments above us; and he was determined to make us fully sensible of the *de facto* superiority of his authority. He required no chimney himself, and he could not be made to under-

stand that a Spanish brazier would not answer all our English wants just as well as it did his.

I lived, however, long enough in Buenos Ayres to see great changes in these matters,—I may say a complete revolution in the old habits and fashions of the people, strikingly exemplified in the comparative comfort, if not luxury, which has found its way into the dwellings of the better classes: thanks to English and French upholsterers, the old whitewashed walls have been covered with paper in all the varieties from Paris; and European furniture of every sort is to be met with in every house. English grates, supplied with coals carried out from Liverpool as ballast, and sold at lower prices than in London, have been brought into very general use, and certainly have contributed to the health and comfort of a city the atmosphere of which is so frequently affected by the damps from the river.

Nor is the improvement confined to the internal arrangement of the houses; a striking change has taken place in the whole style of building in Buenos Ayres. With the influx of strangers, the value of property, especially in the more central part of the city, has been greatly enhanced, and has led the natives to add upper stories to some of their houses, the obvious advantages of which will no doubt ere many years make the plan general, and change the whole aspect of the city.

Some peculiarities will probably be long preserved, such amongst others as the iron gratings, or rather railings, which protect the windows, and which on more than one occasion have proved the best safeguards of the inhabitants: it requires some time for an Englishman to become reconciled to their prison-like appearance; yet, when painted green, they are rather ornamental than otherwise, particularly when hung, as they frequently are, with festoons of the beautiful air-plants of Paraguay, which there live and blossom even on cold iron; and one does get satisfied with them, I believe, from a conviction of their necessity in the present state of society in those countries, not to speak of the comfort of being able in the hot nights of summer to leave a window open without risk of intrusion.

There are, however, clever thieves at Buenos Ayres, as elsewhere, against whom even iron bars are of no avail; cases have occurred in which they have succeeded in carrying off the clothes of the sleeping inmates, by fishing them out of the gratings of windows left open in the night, by means of a hook attached to one of the long canes of the country: in this manner, in one well-known case, an Englishman lost a valuable watch hooked out of its pocket at his bed's head, which he was just awoke by his frightened wife to catch a last glimpse of as it seemingly danced out of the window for ever.

It will hardly be credited that water is an expensive article within fifty yards of the Plata; but so it is. That obtained from most of the wells is brackish and bad, and there are no public cisterns or reservoirs, although the city is so slightly elevated above the river, that nothing would be easier than to keep it continually provided by the most ordinary artificial means.

As it is, those who can afford it, go to a considerable expense in constructing large tanks under the pavement of their court-yards, into which the rain water collected from the flat terraced roofs of their houses is conducted by pipes, and in general a sufficiency may thus be secured for the ordinary purposes of the family; but the lower orders are obliged to depend for a more scanty supply upon the itinerant water-carriers, who at a certain time of day are to be seen lazily perambulating the streets with huge butts filled at the river, mounted on the monstrous cart-wheels of the country, and drawn by a yoke of oxen: a clumsy and expensive contrivance altogether, which makes even water dear within a stone's throw of the largest river in the world. Taken at the very edge, it is seldom of the purest, and generally requires to stand twenty-four hours before it deposits its muddy sediment, and becomes sufficiently cleared to be drinkable; it is then excellent, and will keep so for any time. For my own use I generally kept a lump of alum in the water-jars,* which had the effect of purifying their contents very speedily.

* It is in this manner that the Chinese purify the water taken from some of their rivers, which, like the Plata, flow through vast beds of alluvial mud.

The principal streets are now tolerably paved with granite brought from the islands above Buenos Ayres, chiefly from Martin Garcia. How the people got about before they were paved it is difficult to understand, for they must have been at times one continued slough, to judge from the state of those which are still unfinished, and which, after any continuance of wet weather, are nearly, if not entirely impassable, even for people on horseback, much more so for carriages. I have seen in some of them the mire so deep, that the oxen could not drag the country carts through it; and in such cases it not unfrequently happens that the animals themselves, unable to get out, are left to die and rot in the swamp in the middle of the street.

It was a fair sample of the miserable economy of their old Spanish rulers, that a commercial city of such importance, and in which the traffic was daily increasing, should have been allowed so long to remain in such a state, with an inexhaustible supply of the best paving materials in the world within twenty or thirty miles of it, and of such easy water-carriage. The people, however, were led to believe that the difficulties and impediments to such an improvement as the general paving of the city were next to insurmountable.

The Marquis of Loreto, who was Viceroy when the first notion of such a plan was started, gave officially, amongst other reasons against it, the danger of the houses falling down from the shaking of their foundations by the driving of heavy carts over a stone pavement so near to them; whilst another and still more weighty objection, in his opinion, was the necessity it would entail upon the people to put iron tires to their cart-wheels, and to shoe their horses, which he observed would cost them more than the animals themselves.

Fortunately, his immediate successors, Aredondo and Aviles, were not deterred by such alarms. The former commenced the work in earnest about the year 1795, with the aid of a subscription voluntarily raised by the inhabitants; and the latter carried it on to a much greater extent, levying a trifling duty upon the city for the purpose,

which was readily submitted to, when, as the work advanced, the improvement became manifest. In later times, especially during the administration of Rivadavia, in 1822-24, much more was done, and there are few of the principal streets which are not now more or less completed.

The granite is excellent, and was carefully examined *in situ* by Mr. Bevens, an English engineer, some years ago, who reported that it was easy to be worked, and the supply inexhaustible. When the working of it is better understood by the natives, it will probably be brought into much more general use.

The environs of the city are pleasantly diversified by the quintas or summer-houses of the wealthier classes, in the gardens of which the flowers and fruits of other climes intermixed with those of the country are to be found in great variety.

A love of flowers, it should be observed, is carried to an extravagant excess by the Buenos Ayrean ladies; on the occasion of a ball or any public entertainment, they will give any money for a diamela, a rare geranium, or magnificent carnation, with which they know how to set off their splendid tresses with an artistic taste quite their own.

English and Scotch gardeners* have done good service to the country by the pains they have taken, not only to improve the culture of some of the indigenous plants, but by introducing others from Europe, which have now become of primary necessity. Most of the green vegetables grown in Great Britain and France are found to thrive at Buenos Ayres, especially those of a pulpy or succulent nature, and of quick growth and development. Melons of all kinds, pumpkins, cauliflowers, tomatas, asparagus, beans, and peas, all thrive admirably. The rapid and extraordinary growth of the giant thistle of the Pampas, which in the summer season runs up high enough to hide a man on horseback, and which covers hundreds of miles of those vast plains, is well known.

* Mr. Tweedie, amongst others, has immortalised himself by the number of beautiful plants which he has introduced into Europe from these regions, and which are deservedly associated with his name in our botanical collections.

Of the cereals, maize is the indigenous grain around and northward of Buenos Ayres, where it may be grown to any extent with very little labour. Wheat requires the cooler climate of the more southern part of the province, where it is grown chiefly along the south bank of the river Salado in sufficient quantities for the consumption of the province, and even for exportation whenever there has been a demand for it. Flax and hemp have been tried with success, and might be turned to good account. The vine flourishes of course in such a climate; so does the fig and the orange tree, the latter of which seems to be the delight of the sweet smelling air plants, which hang about its branches in great luxuriance. The olive-tree is found to yield plenty of fruit, but requires much care and attention to preserve it from the ravages of the ants, which seem to choose its spreading roots in preference to any other locality, under which to make their big nests.

But of all the trees introduced from Europe, the peach has proved the most valuable; its growth is very rapid, and it is planted in large quantities in the vicinity of the city for firewood. The fruit is good, and of course in great abundance; man eats all he can of it, and then the pigs are turned into the plantations to fatten upon the remainder.

The fences of all the gardens in the vicinity of the city are formed of the great aloe (agavé) and the eight-sided cactus, and very formidable fences they make when properly planted: both grow splendidly. The aloe seems to have spread all its leaves, and attains its full growth, in three or four years; then it puts forth its gigantic flowering stalk 15 to 20 feet high, scattering its seed in extraordinary abundance, and giving rise to innumerable offsets which spring up around the parent plant, and take its place as it dies and rots after flowering.

In the hedge-rows about my own residence I have counted fifty or sixty and more of these magnificent plants in flower at a time. Whilst the stem is growing it is full of saccharine matter, and the flowers are extremely odorous. The cattle watch their fall with an avidity which

it is curious to witness, and if they can get at the stalk will pull it down, and devour its juicy contents till they become apparently quite intoxicated. It is well known what a quantity of liquor may be collected in the sockets of these plants by removing the flower-stalks when they begin to sprout; from which in Mexico the spirit called Pulqué is made, the principal drink of the lower orders in that country, and the source of a very large revenue to the government.

It is amidst the sweet flowers and orange-trees which abound in the gardens around Buenos Ayres that the humming-birds delight to take up their abode. We had a vast number of them always in ours. One with a brilliant violet-coloured breast was the most common. Many were the attempts we made to rear the young birds, but in vain; I believe, because we did not know their proper food. All we could do was to keep them in their own nests in cages for some weeks hung up in the trees in which they were taken, where the parent bird would continue to visit and to feed them till they were supposed to be old enough to provide for themselves; then, nature's duty done, she invariably abandoned them, and they as surely died.

It is not, however, impossible to tame a humming-bird, of which a remarkable case came under my observation, which is deserving record in the history of this class of birds. The lady of General Balcarce, one of the Buenos Ayrean Ministers, with whom I was well acquainted, had one of these little birds so completely tamed and under her command, that she used to carry it about in her bosom when she visited her friends, and would then let it loose to fly about the room, and even out of the window into the garden, as it has done in mine, where it would rush from flower to flower disporting itself till recalled by the well-known voice of its mistress, to be returned to its resting-place and carried home again. Azara relates a similar story of one which belonged to the Governor of Paraguay, Don Pedro de Melo, "*qui en conserva un chez lui, déjà adulte, pendant quatre mois; il y voloit en toute liberté, et il connoissoit fort bien son maître, auquel il donnoit des baisers, et autour duquel il volti-*

geoit pour demander à manger . . alors Don Pedro prenoit un vase de sirop très clair, et il le penchoit un peu afin que le ‘bec-fleurs’ pût y plonger la langue; il lui donnoit aussi, de tems en tems, quelques fleurs: avec ces précautions ce charmant oiseau vécut aussi bien que dans les campagnes, jusqu’à ce qu’il périt par la négligence des domestiques pendant l’absence de son maître.”

In each of these cases the bird had sufficient liberty to feed itself, which may account for its preservation in a state of domestication. I now understand that they are supposed to live principally upon minute insects; but as they appeared to us, as they probably did to those who first gave them the name of *pica-flora*, or “bec-fleurs,” always to take most delight in sucking honey, like bees, from fragrant flowers, we used to supply them chiefly with sugar and sweets which may not have suited them, and perhaps was the real cause of our repeated failures to rear them and to reduce them to a state of contented captivity.

I never heard of but one instance of a humming-bird being brought alive to Europe, and that was by the cabin-boy of a vessel from the West Indies, who is said to have succeeded in keeping one alive in a ship’s lantern till he reached the Thames. If that be true, with the passage from all parts of South America now so very much shortened by the power of steam, we may yet hope to see some of these bright gems of the feathered creation brought to us in a living state, as well as the flowers and fruits with which they are associated in their native climes.

CHAPTER IX.

Comparative Statistics of the Population in 1778, 1800, and 1825 — Decrease of the Coloured, and Increase of the White Classes — Slaves — Their kind treatment and devotion to their Masters — How emancipated, and made useful and industrious — Great influx of Europeans — Religious Toleration — English Church — Manners and habits of the Buenos Ayreans — Influence of the Military Class — Abundance of Work for Mechanics — Cheap Living — Everything done on Horseback by the Gauchos.

IN 1778 Don Pedro Cevallos, the first Viceroy of Buenos Ayres, ordered a census to be taken of the population, from which it appeared that the inhabitants of the capital, and of its Campaña or country jurisdiction, amounted to 37,679 souls, of which 24,205 belonged to the city, 12,925 to the country, and 549 were members of religious communities. To these numbers some addition should be made for short returns, particularly from the country districts, not only from the difficulty of collecting them, but from the disposition of the people to evade any such attempt of the authorities to take a particular account of them, lest it should be the prelude to some fresh exaction for the service of the mother country. The military, too, are not included in the numbers above given, although only two years previously no less than 10,000 men were sent from Spain to carry on the war against the Portuguese, in addition to the troops already in the country.

Making allowance for these deficiencies in the census of 1778, the total numbers of the population at that time were probably rather above than under 50,000.

In 1800 Azara, on official data, calls it 71,668, giving 40,000 for the city and 31,668 for the country towns and

villages within its jurisdiction—a great increase since 1788 compared with the past, and attributed to the relaxation by Spain of her old regulations with respect to the trade, and the fresh impulse thereby given to the colony.

This, however, was but an indication of the further results to be expected from the removal of those remaining restrictions which still hampered the energies of the community, and retarded the development of the commercial capabilities of Buenos Ayres.

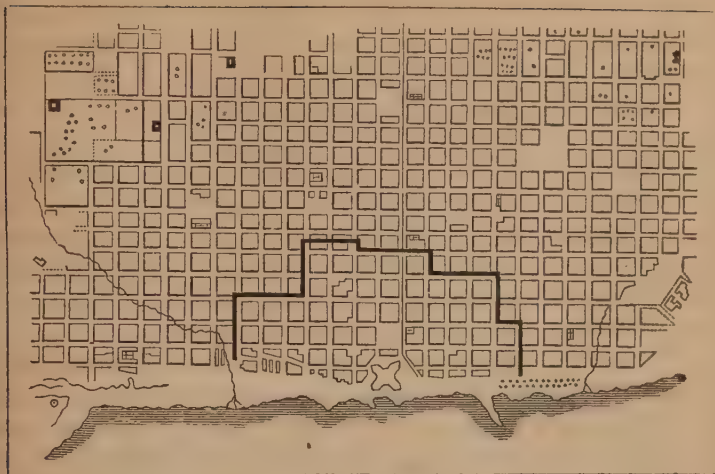
In 1810 the trade was opened to all nations.

In 1824–25, from returns given in the Statistical Register,* published by authority (upon the assumption that the annual measure of mortality is 1 in 32 in the city, and 1 in 40 in the country), the population of the city of Buenos Ayres was estimated, from the Tables of Mortality of 1822–23, at 81,136, and that of the country districts at 82,080, making a total of 163,216. The results of 1823 alone give nearly 183,000; but as these calculations are founded upon the supposition that *all* the deaths which had occurred in those years were duly registered by the authorities, which is not likely to have been possible, especially as regards the country, some addition must be made to the numbers quoted for short registrations; making fair allowance for which I should assume the total population of the province of Buenos Ayres at the time mentioned to have been at least 200,000 souls, or nearly treble what it was twenty-five years before.

I am not aware that any census has been taken of the population since 1825, but it must have increased vastly, from the influx of foreigners since that time, added to natural causes. The population of the city alone is now estimated to be 120,000 souls.

The annexed plan of the city of Buenos Ayres, as it was in 1835, exemplifies the increase of the population since 1767; the black line marking its limited extent in that year.

* For the details of these Returns, see Population Tables in Appendix.



(Plan showing extent of Buenos Ayres in 1767 and in 1835.)

From the numbers, if we turn to the changes which have taken place in the general composition of the population, the results are not less interesting in a statistical point of view.

Upon reference to the official returns in the Appendix, it will be seen that in the first census of 1778 the population was divided into five castes.

1st. The Spaniards and their descendants born in America, generally known as Creoles.

2nd. The Native Indians.

3rd. The Mestizoes, offspring of the Spaniard and Indian.

4th. The Mulattoes, offspring of the Spaniard and Negro.

5th. The Negroes or Africans born.

Of these five castes, however, the Indians and their Mestizo offspring formed a very small and insignificant class, and can only be regarded as accidentally domiciliated at Buenos Ayres in consequence of its being at that time the principal channel of communication between Peru, their native soil, and Spain. The original Indians of Buenos Ayres were a hostile race, who withdrew from all intercourse with their conquerors: no mixture, therefore, of Spanish and native blood took place in that

quarter of South America, producing a distinct caste, as in Paraguay and the provinces of Peru, where the more peaceable and submissive Indians continue to the present day to constitute the main stock of the population. In those parts we see a marked difference in the people. The farther we advance into the interior the more scarce become the white in proportion to the coloured inhabitants. The aboriginal Indian blood decidedly predominates in the Mestizo castes, whilst the Negro and his Mulatto descendants, common in the vicinity of the coast, are there almost unknown.

The cause of this is easily explained: for a long period very few European women reached the interior of America; the Spanish settlers therefore intermarried with the natives, from which connexion has sprung that numerous race the Mestizoes, which forms so marked a class of the present population of those countries. The same difficulty in transporting their women from Europe did not affect Buenos Ayres; there the European stock was kept up, though for a long time it increased very slowly; and but for the adventitious circumstance of its having been for some years a depôt for the slave trade under the Asiento Treaty, the population of Buenos Ayres would have been nearly free from any admixture of colour whatever. As it is, it appears that in 1778 the coloured people of all castes formed about a third of the whole.

In the population returns for 1822-25 it will be seen that the Indian and Mestizo no longer appear. The classification made is simply into the white and the coloured races; and although the latter still constituted nearly a fourth of the whole, it had ceased to increase.

In the four years the births of the coloured classes barely exceeded the deaths. The latter were annually in an increasing ratio, whilst there was a striking falling off in the number of their marriages even from 1822 to 1825.

The slave trade has been prohibited since 1813, by a decree of the first Constituent Assembly, consequently any further supply of the negro stock has ceased. The traffic never was carried to any great extent in the provinces of the Rio de la Plata. Under the Asiento, when the

numbers imported were largest, they were limited to 1200 annually, a great part of which were for Paraguay and Peru.

After the expiration of that treaty, the opportunities of introducing them were but few, nor indeed was there any particular want of them till the opening of the port in 1778. Then the increase of the export trade created a demand for labour, which, from the scarcity of hands in the country, became exorbitantly dear; and the Spanish Government, after a time, thinking to supply the deficiency, in 1793 permitted negroes from Africa to be introduced free of duty for the use of the colony; and as a further encouragement to those Spaniards who would import them direct, the privilege was granted of exporting their value in produce to whatever countries they pleased, and in vessels of foreign as well as Spanish build; but, although this held out the certainty of very large profits both ways, such was the disinclination of the Spaniards to enter into the trade themselves, that in the first three years after the privilege was granted only one cargo, of between 300 and 400 slaves, was brought to Buenos Ayres direct from Africa. The Viceroy had estimated that a sale might be found for about a thousand yearly at Buenos Ayres, half of which would be wanted for the city and the provinces, and the other half for the people of Peru; but no such numbers were imported. Those that were introduced were brought there by the Portuguese from the markets of Brazil.

In Spanish South America slavery was always more a name than a reality. The negroes were treated with even more consideration than the hired servants of the country. The laws protected them from ill-usage, and religious feeling, in a state of society over which the priests had paramount influence, operated still more in their favour. They were principally employed as household servants, and as such were diligent, faithful, and often devotedly attached to their masters.

This was strikingly exhibited in the defence of Buenos Ayres against the English in 1807, and in the subsequent War of Independence, in which about 5000 were enrolled as soldiers in the service of the republic. Capable of

great endurance in intertropical regions, obedient, and courageous, they proved themselves to be amongst the best of the troops in the patriot armies; indeed I have heard it observed by the Buenos Ayreans themselves, that but for the free regiments, the "Libertos," it might have been at times questionable how the contest in the Upper Provinces with the Spaniards would have ended. They were of course rewarded with their freedom upon the expiration of the service.

To those who did not take arms every facility was given by the republican authorities to obtain their manumission by their own exertions. The slave had the important privilege of being able at any time to pay off a part or the whole of his original purchase money—a right of which most of them availed themselves sooner or later, either by buying their freedom with their own savings, or with money lent to them by others for the purpose. The few comparatively who remained as slaves continued so voluntarily, having in many cases no wish to change their condition, and to quit the service of kind masters, who were legally bound to take care of them whether in sickness or in health, for a more precarious existence of their own seeking.

Slavery was thus gradually extinguished in the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, without injury or complaint on behalf of the owners, and greatly to the improvement of the general character of the slaves themselves, who, from having been wisely inured to habits of discipline and exertion preparatory to their emancipation, now constitute perhaps the most useful and industrious class of the lower orders of the community. Their merry black faces are to be seen wherever there is a call for work, in a climate where they can do more than anybody else. The porters, carters, carriers, drivers, and all the washerwomen of Buenos Ayres, are free negroes or mulattoes.

But these coloured castes are, as I have shown, upon the wane, and ere long must be entirely lost in the rapid increase of the white population and the continual immigration of fresh settlers from Europe.

This is going on to a great extent. In the first edition of this work I mentioned that in 1832 the number of

foreigners established in Buenos Ayres and the province so called were estimated at from 15,000 to 20,000, of which about two-thirds were British and French in equal proportions—the remainder being made up of Italians, Germans, and people of other countries, including a considerable number from the United States, and especially from New York.

In 1850 the French alone in Buenos Ayres and its suburbs were estimated at more than 20,000—the greater part mechanics, artisans, and others employed in industrial occupations in and about the city. Particular circumstances connected with the question of Monte Video have occasioned this great influx of French settlers into the province of Buenos Ayres.

The English have not increased in the same ratio, although they still maintain their superiority in point of capital, and in the number and importance of their commercial establishments. Their rights and privileges are defined by the treaty * which I signed with the Government of Buenos Ayres in 1825, in virtue of which, besides the usual stipulations for personal security and immunity from forced loans and such arbitrary exactions, they have the comfort of enjoying the free exercise of their religion—a great object to so numerous a community.

The Buenos Ayrean authorities, having once been induced to make that concession, acted upon it with remarkable liberality, in presenting the British community with a valuable plot of ground in the best part of the city for the site of an English church. For this the British residents were indebted to General Rosas and his enlightened minister and adviser at that time, the late Don Manuel Garcia, the Buenos Ayrean Plenipotentiary for the treaty in question, who, by officially attending on the occasion of laying the first stone, gave countenance on the part of his Government to the work, setting an example of more than toleration to his countrymen, who had been taught a very different lesson in the time of their old Spanish masters.

I had the satisfaction myself of witnessing not only the commencement but the opening of the church in question,

* See Treaty in Appendix.

which was completed very creditably, partly by subscriptions raised amongst the British residents, and partly by aid from Her Majesty's Government, who appoint the chaplain and defray half the annual expenses, under the Act of Parliament for the regulation of such matters. It contains a thousand sittings. Besides this a Presbyterian chapel has been since built by the Scotch portion of the community; and for those of Her Majesty's subjects who are Roman Catholics an Irish priest does duty in one of the national churches. X

In former times, under the Colonial Government, a hatred of heretics, especially English ones, was systematically implanted in the minds of the people of the country by the Spanish priesthood, coupled too with strange tales about us, no less extravagant than Lord Monboddo's theories, which could only have obtained credit amongst the masses of a community brought up to believe implicitly whatever their spiritual directors chose to impose upon them.

The opening of our church excited no little curiosity as to the nature of our devotional exercises, and some surprise was expressed by many who might have been expected to be better informed, that they so much resembled their own, and that, as far as they could judge, we really appeared to be Christians like themselves. They now know us better.*

Our countrymen have formed many matrimonial connexions with the fair Buenos Ayreans, which have contributed no doubt to the kind feeling with which the English are so generally regarded by the natives. The Buenos Ayrean ladies are reputed the handsomest women in South America, and, in the unsophisticated state of society in which they move, their frank and obliging manners render them doubly attractive to strangers. If they do not study history and geography, they are devoted to the cultivation of the more attractive accomplishments of their sex. They are passionately fond of dancing,

* M. Isabelle, a French writer upon these countries, relates the following as part of a conversation with a lady of Buenos Ayres, relative to the attack of the English on the city in 1807:—"Me daba lastima de ver aquellos Ingleses tan

rubios, tan bonitos mozos caer heridos y gritar todavia, hurrah! pero creiamos de buena fe que eran hereges y que tenian cola"!—*Isabelle, Voyage à Buenos Ayres, &c.*, 1835.

X Catholics in Ireland are accepted in 1829!

and in their love of music will vie with the young ladies of any country in the world. Amongst the men the same taste in a higher degree appears to be developed in a talent for poetry. A collection of their compositions, printed in 1823, under the title of "*La Lira Argentina*," chiefly in commemoration of the events of the War of Independence, is well worth the notice of all lovers of Spanish verse. But the men have more advantages, as respects education, than the fair sex. In their schools and universities they are well grounded in most of the leading branches of general knowledge, and many of the rising generation belonging to the better and more wealthy families have been sent to Europe to complete their studies. The young men are in general very intelligent and observant, and desirous to improve themselves. Their ordinary habits are certainly a good deal influenced by climate. I cannot speak of them as an industrious people, and yet it is rare to meet with anybody who has not some nominal occupation. Their besetting fault is a habit of putting off everything till *to-morrow* which ought to be done to-day; a habit inherited from their Spanish predecessors, and confirmed by that colonial system which damped every rising energy. *Mañana, Mañana*, is the reply on all matters, from the most trifling to the most important; it hangs about their necks like a mill-stone, and is a serious impediment to all business. When will they learn that "*to-morrow never comes?*"

In the time of the old Spaniards the priests and the lawyers (or *doctores*) carried everything before them; now their power has much declined, especially that of the priesthood. The Revolution in this, as in other Roman Catholic countries, has put an end to the unconstitutional influence exercised by them in a very different state of things.* The Government has taken possession of the

* It is well known that, with respect to the patronage of the Church, the Sovereigns of Spain, though glorying in the title of Catholic Majesty, would never tolerate the interference of the Court of Rome beyond allowing the Pope to appoint to vacant sees upon their own presentation. In the infancy and inexperience of the new Governments set up in South America, the Pope has attempted

to reassert his rights, and to fill up bishoprics without reference to the newly constituted powers. This pretension has been uniformly and successfully resisted by the Government of Buenos Ayres; who seem not at all disposed to give up any of the rights and privileges exercised in this respect by the old mother country, and which they claim to have inherited.

ecclesiastical property, and the officiating clergy are left to depend upon a stipend barely sufficient for their decent maintenance. Under such circumstances there are no longer the same inducements as formerly to men to devote themselves to a life of celibacy.

Another class, that of the military, has grown out of the War of Independence and the civil dissensions of the provinces, the influence of which, unfortunately for the country, is everywhere but too apparent. I say unfortunately, for nothing can be more dangerous than a taste for military distinction in a new country, the future prosperity of which must so essentially depend upon the cultivation of the arts of peace. Where every man is armed, the sword will not be long left in its scabbard—there will be either quarrels with foreign powers, or civil contests and broils: force becomes law, and then what follows?

Not to speak of worse consequences, how often has it happened in these countries that the rural populations have been torn from their peaceful pursuits—the crops perhaps abandoned, and the cattle left to wander into the desert, lost to their owners and to the country—to support the cause of some petty chief, reckless of all but the maintenance of his own ephemeral power! The facility with which the mounted Gauchos in the country are turned into cavalry soldiers makes them particularly liable to such requisitions.

In the city the occupations and habits of the lower classes do not in the same degree fit them for military service; besides, in the capital, there are local authorities and public opinion to appeal to in extreme cases of hardship, which renders life and property more secure. There the masses of the population are chiefly engaged in carrying on the trade and commerce of the port with foreign countries. Whilst the importing and exporting part of the business is for the most part carried on by foreign merchants, the details are necessarily left to the natives; they collect and prepare for shipment all the produce of the country, and retail the goods imported from abroad. Nor is it thought at all degrading for young men of the best connexions to stand behind a counter, where they gossip with their fair customers upon a footing of perfect equality.

Mechanics and artisans form also a numerous class where everything is wanted, and no man feels inclined to do much: it is in these occupations that the European has so decided an advantage over the native from his more industrious habits; for he is used to work whilst the natives of all classes, high and low, are asleep. He cannot fail to prosper if he will but avoid the drinking shops; but he must be resolute on that point, for temptation assails him at every corner: it appears by the police returns that no less than 600 "*pulperias*," as they are called, are open in the city alone, besides those in the suburbs.

For every one who will work there is employment; and as to real want, it can hardly exist in a country where the necessaries of life are so cheap that beef is dear at a penny a pound. Good fish may be had as cheap; and partridges as big as pheasants may be had for little more than the trouble of catching them. There are few markets in the world more plentifully and cheaply supplied than that of Buenos Ayres. Almost everything is brought in on horseback—I may say is caught on horseback. I need not tell how the mounted Gauchos catch the cattle with their lassoes; but that people can catch fish and partridges on horseback may be new to some of my readers: nearly all that are brought to market for sale at Buenos Ayres are so taken.

The fishermen pack their nets upon their horses and ride them into the river, which in calm weather they may do for nearly a mile before the water is as high as their noses; then, standing upright, they throw out their seine from the animals' backs, as we should do from a boat, and so haul it on shore. The take is sometimes wonderful, often sufficient to fill one of the bullock-carts of the country, chiefly of a very large grey mullet.

The big partridges I have mentioned are caught by the young Gauchos whilst galloping about in the Pampas with a noose attached to the end of a long cane, much as we sniggle eels; it is curious to see how quietly the birds will stand to be taken, foolishly staring at the horseman as if fascinated, whilst he rides round and round them, gradually

narrowing the circle till he gets within arm's reach, and puts his noose over their neck.

But everything in this country is done on horseback: if a bucket of water is to be drawn from a well, there must be a man and horse to haul it up, and I doubt if it would come into the head of a Gaucho that it could possibly be done in any other way. Every man, woman, and child in the country rides. One might fancy oneself in the land of centaurs, amidst a population half men half horses: even beggars ride on horseback.

The annexed representation of one with a licence from the police hung about his neck is copied from a set of costumes of the country, published at Buenos Ayres, and is drawn, I am told, from the life.



(Beggar on Horseback.)

CHAPTER X.

Climate of Buenos Ayres, and its Influence upon the Nervous System — Effects of the North Wind — Case of Garcia — A Pampero — Dust Storms and Showers of Mud — Lockjaw — Ravages of Small-pox — Introduction of Vaccination — Made known to the Indians by General Rosas — Healthiness and Longevity of the People.

AZARA, the best of all writers upon the country, has with much truth observed that the climate of Buenos Ayres is governed not so much by its latitude as by the wind, a change of which not unfrequently produces an alteration of from 20 to 30 degrees in the thermometer.*

I have been often asked whether the heat in summer is not almost intolerable. On some days it is so; the glass perhaps at 90 in-doors, and all nature gasping for air; but on those very days the most experienced of the natives will be clothed in warm woollens instead of linen jackets and trousers, for fear of catching cold.

During the greater part of the year the prevailing winds are northerly, which, passing over the marshy lands of Entre Rios, and then over the wide expanse of the Plata, imbibe their exhalations, and by the time they reach the southern shores of the river, have a great influence upon the climate. Everything is damp: the mould stands upon the boots cleaned but yesterday; books become mildewed, and the keys rust in one's pocket. Good fires are the best preservatives, and I found them, if not absolutely necessary, at least very comfortable, during quite as many months as I should have had them in England; and yet I never, during nine years, saw snow or ice thicker than a dollar, and the latter only once. Upon the bodily system the effect produced by this pre-

* Meteorological Tables will be found in the Appendix.

vailing humidity is a general lassitude and relaxation; opening the pores of the skin, and inducing great liability to colds, sore throats, consumptive and rheumatic affections, and all the consequences of checked perspiration; one of the best safeguards against which is doubtless the woollen clothing of the natives, of which I have already spoken; though they require it, perhaps, the more especially, because they seldom stir out of their houses in the extreme heat of the day; and it is at the time they do go out, when the sun has lost its power and the damps of evening are setting in, that such precautions are doubly necessary. Europeans, at first, are loth to take the same care of themselves, but sooner or later they discover that the natives are right, and insensibly fall into their ways.

The evil effects of all this humidity, so far as they are dangerous, appear to be confined to the immediate vicinity of the river, and to the inhabitants of the city; for in the Pampas the Gauchos sleep upon the ground during the greater part of the year in the open air without risk. Their skins, however, like those of the cattle they watch, are probably impervious to the wet.

Before I went to Buenos Ayres I had suffered much from malaria fever, caught in Greece; and when I saw, for the first time, the low, flat, marshy appearance of the whole country, I expected nothing less than a return of my old ague. Everything around seemed to bespeak it; but Buenos Ayres is free from such disorders, and cases of intermittent fever, such as that I speak of, are hardly known there.

Nevertheless, though free from the malaria of the Mediterranean and its consequences, the sirocco of the Levant does not bring with it more disagreeable affections than the viento norte, or north wind of Buenos Ayres, which in some people produces an irritability and ill-humour, amounting to little less than a temporary derangement of their moral faculties: it is no uncommon case for men amongst the better classes to shut themselves up in their houses during its continuance, and lay aside all business till it has passed; whilst amongst the lower orders it is a fact well known to the police that cases of quarrelling

and bloodshed are much more frequent during the north wind than at any other time. Of this, the following case was given me as an example, amongst others, by one of the most eminent medical men in the country, who had paid particular attention to the subject during a practice of more than thirty years.

Some years ago, Juan Antonio Garcia, aged between 35 and 40, was executed for murder at Buenos Ayres. He was a person of some education, rather remarkable than otherwise for the civility and amenity of his manners; his countenance was open and handsome, and his disposition frank and generous; but when the north wind set in, he appeared to lose all command of himself, and such was his extreme irritability, that during its continuance he could hardly speak to any one in the street without quarrelling: before his execution, he admitted that it was the third man he had killed, besides having been engaged in more than twenty fights with knives, in which he had both given and received many serious wounds; but, he said, it was the north wind, not he, that shed all this blood.

When he rose from his bed in the morning, he told my informant he was at once aware of its accursed influence upon him;—a dull headache first, and then a feeling of impatience at everything about him, would cause him to take umbrage even at the members of his own family on the most trivial occurrence. If he went abroad his headache generally became worse, a heavy weight seemed to hang over his temples, he saw objects, as it were, through a cloud, and was hardly conscious where he went. He was fond of play, and if in such a mood a gambling-house was in his way he seldom resisted the temptation; once there, any turn of ill-luck would so irritate him, that the chances were he would insult some of the by-standers. Those who knew him, perhaps, would bear with his ill-humours; but if unhappily he chanced to meet with a stranger disposed to resent his abuse, they seldom parted without bloodshed.

Such was the account the wretched man gave of himself, and it was corroborated afterwards by his relations and friends, who added, that no sooner had the cause of his excitement passed away than he would deplore his

weakness, and never rested till he had sought out and made his peace with those whom he had hurt or offended.

The medical man who gave me this account attended him in his last moments, and expressed great anxiety to save his life, under the persuasion that he was hardly to be accounted a reasonable being.

It was obvious, however, that to have admitted such a plea would have led to the necessity of confining half the population of the city whenever the north wind set in.

It would be better to disarm the people of their long knives, the habit of using which upon every trivial dispute is the immediate cause of the many cases like Garcia's, which are of such constant occurrence.

Europeans, though often sensible of its influence, are not generally affected to the same extent as the natives, amongst whom the women appear to be the greatest sufferers, especially from the headache it occasions. Numbers of them may be seen at times in the streets, walking about with large split beans stuck upon their temples; a sure sign which way the wind blows. The bean, which is applied raw, appears to act as a slight blister, and to counteract the relaxation caused by the state of the atmosphere.

But it is not the human constitution alone that is affected; the discomforts of the day are increased by the derangement of most of the household preparations:—The meat turns putrid, the milk curdles, and even the bread which is baked whilst it lasts is frequently bad. Every one complains, and the only answer returned is—“*Señor, es el viento norte.*”

All these miseries, however, are not without their remedy: when the sufferings of the natives are at their climax, the mercury will give the sure indication of a coming pampero, as the south-wester is called; a rustling breeze breaks through the stillness of the stagnant atmosphere, and in a few seconds sweeps away the incubus and all else before it: originating in the snows of the Andes, the blast rushes with unbroken violence over the intermediate Pampas, and, ere it reaches Buenos Ayres, becomes often a hurricane.

A very different state of things then takes place, and, from the suddenness of such changes, the most ludicrous,

though often serious, accidents occur, particularly in the river, whither, of an evening, a great part of the population resort to cool themselves during the hot weather. There they may be seen by hundreds, men, women, and children, sitting together up to their necks in the water, just like so many frogs in a marsh: if a pampero breaks, as it often does, unexpectedly upon such an assembly, the scramble and confusion which ensues is better imagined than told; fortunate are those who may have taken an attendant to watch their clothes, for otherwise, long ere they can get out of the river, every article of dress may be carried off by the gale.

Not unfrequently the pampero is accompanied by clouds of dust from the parched Pampas, so dense as to produce total darkness, in which I have known instances of bathers being drowned ere they could find their way to the shore. I recollect on one of these occasions a gang of twenty convicts, who were working at the time in irons upon the beach, making their escape in the dark from their guards, not one of whom, I believe, was retaken. It is difficult to convey any idea of the strange effects of these dust-storms: day is changed to night, and nothing can exceed the temporary darkness produced by them, which I have known to last for nearly a quarter of an hour in the middle of the day; very frequently they are laid by a heavy fall of rain, which, mingling with the clouds of dust as it pours down, forms literally a shower of mud. The dirty plight in which people appear after being caught in such a storm is indescribable. In the country whole flocks of sheep are sometimes overwhelmed and smothered. The land-marks separating one property from another are obliterated, and the owners are perhaps involved in law-suits to determine once more their respective possessions.

The following letter, written to me shortly after I left Buenos Ayres, gives an account of one of these visitations:—

“Yesterday (10th February, 1832) we had another of those awful dust-storms which you have previously witnessed: it came on about a quarter past twelve o’clock. The rapidity of its approach, and awful opacity, alarmed

the whole population; in an instant, as it were, there was a transition from the glaring ray of the meridian to the most *intense* darkness. Immense flocks, or rather one immense flight of birds, immediately preceded it; and, in fact, however incredible it may appear, commenced the obscurity by their numbers.

“The whole time of its duration was eleven minutes and a half, the total darkness eight minutes and a half, by watch, observed by Dr. S. and myself by candlelight. It was accompanied by loud claps of thunder, but not a ray of lightning was visible, although the thunder was by no means distant. After eleven minutes and a half, the rain began to fall in very large black drops, which had the effect upon the white walls of making them appear, when the sun again showed itself, as if they had been stained or sprinkled with ink. I never witnessed a more majestic or awful phenomenon. The consternation was general—every one rushing into the nearest house, and all struggling to shut their doors on their neighbours. I have heard as yet of no accidents, although doubtless there must have been many. The wind, of course, from S.S.W.”

The thunder and lightning in the Rio de la Plata is at times such, I believe, as is not to be witnessed in any other part of the world, unless it be the Straits of Sunda. In Azara may be read an account of nineteen persons killed by the lightning which fell in the city during one of these storms.

But the atmosphere is effectually cleared; man breathes once more, and all nature seems to revive under the exhilarating freshness of the gale:—the natives, good-humoured and thoughtless, laugh over the less serious consequences, and soon forget the worst; happy in the belief that, at any rate, they are free from the epidemical disorders of other regions.

Still such variations from the ordinary courses of nature cannot but be productive of strange consequences; and, though the transient effects of an overcharged atmosphere may be quickly dispelled by a pampero, and the people be really free from the epidemics of other countries, there is every reason to believe that, in this particular climate, the system is in a high degree susceptible of affections

which elsewhere would not be deemed worth a moment's consideration. Besides those I have already spoken of as arising from the north wind, old wounds are found to burst out afresh, new ones are very difficult to heal; an apparently trivial sprain will induce a weakness of the part requiring years perhaps to recover from, as I know from my own experience; and lock-jaw from the most trifling accidents is so common as to constitute the cause of a very great portion of the deaths from hurts in the public hospitals. A cut thumb, a nail run into the hand or foot, a lacerated muscle, will generally terminate in it; and our own medical men well know how great a proportion of our wounded in the attacks of 1806 and 1807 died from this dreadful cause. The native practitioners attribute its frequent occurrence to some peculiarity in the atmosphere acting upon the system in a manner they are as yet unable to explain.

Under the name of the "mal de siete dias" (the seven days' sickness) a vast number of children are carried off by it in the first week of their existence; but as this mortality is principally limited to the lower orders, it may perhaps, in most cases, be traced to mismanagement and neglect. With us the long confinement of the mother ensures the same care of the infant in the first weeks of its life; but in a country where the mother leaves her bed in two or three days to return to her work, the child must often be neglected. Many a Buenos Ayrean washer-woman may be seen at her usual work at the river-side three or four days after her delivery, with her infant lying for the greater part of the day upon a piece of cold hide, beside her on the damp ground. Can any one wonder that it takes cold and dies?

There was a time, and but few years ago, when it was believed that this mortality amongst infants arose from their being baptized with cold water, and the General Assembly in 1813, upon a formal representation of the medical profession to that effect, issued a decree that none but tepid water should be used for such purposes in the churches. I believe, however, that the deaths were not found to diminish, and that the priests are again permitted

to use cold water as before, though I doubt the enactment to the contrary having ever been repealed ; but why should these cases so generally terminate in lock-jaw ? *

The dreadful ravages occasioned formerly by the small-pox have been in a great measure arrested among the civilized portion of the inhabitants by the general use of vaccination : the matter was first brought to Buenos Ayres, by the owner of a cargo of slaves, in 1805, and was preserved by the patriotic zeal of an individual, Dr. Segurola, who voluntarily devoted himself for sixteen years to the task of propagating it by his own exertions amongst his countrymen, especially the poor, whose ignorant prejudices he had often to combat, and whom he was not unfrequently obliged to bribe to submit to the operation.

The Government in 1822 relieved him of his charge, and instituted a proper establishment for the express purpose of disseminating this blessing gratis, not only in the city of Buenos Ayres, but throughout the republic ; others were afterwards set up in the country districts, from which the lymph is now distributed to all who apply for it, and has been sent into every province of the interior. The authorities make it compulsory, as far as they can, on parents to carry their children to these establishments ; and the parochial priests are charged to see that they do so.

By a report published in 1829, it appeared that in the city alone, in the previous nine months, as many as 4160 children had been vaccinated ; a large proportion to the births, which are estimated at little more than 6000 yearly. I was more than once applied to for the matter from Rio de Janeiro, whither it was always most readily forwarded by the Buenos Ayrean administrators.

But the destruction created by the small-pox amongst the Spaniards was nothing when compared to its dreadful consequences amongst the native Indians. Whole tribes have been swept away by it : I believe, nations—whose languages have been lost. The plague is not a more frightful scourge than this disorder when it attacks the miserable inhabitants of the Pampas : they themselves believe it to be incurable—a feeling which adds to its

* Horses are liable to the same affection, and never recover from it.

lamentable consequences; for no sooner does it appear than their tents are raised, and the whole tribe takes to flight, abandoning the unfortunate sufferers to the certainty of perishing of hunger and thirst, if the virulence of the disorder itself does not first carry them off.

An opportunity, however, offered during the time I was at Buenos Ayres of making known to these poor people also the effects of vaccination, under circumstances which it is to be hoped may eventually lead to its diffusion amongst them, as well as their more civilized neighbours.

A large party of them, with their wives and children, having repaired to the city on a visit of duty to the Governor, General Rosas, some of them were attacked with small-pox, and amongst the rest one of their principal Caciques. As usual, the sufferers were immediately abandoned by their own relatives, and might have died like dogs, had not their more civilised friends taken charge of them, for which the poor wretches were abundantly grateful; but their surprise was without bounds when the Governor, who had a regard for the old Chief, went in person to visit him. General Rosas, with his usual tact, saw at once the advantage to which the impression created by his unexpected visit might be turned. Showing the mark upon his own arm to the Indians, he desired the interpreter to explain to them the secret which had enabled him to approach their dying Cacique with impunity: the result was that nearly 150 of them, including some of their Caciques, Catrieu, Cachul, Tetrúé, Quindulé, Callinao, Toriano, and Venancio, with their wives and children, were immediately vaccinated at their own earnest solicitation; and great was their childish delight on finding, in due time, the appearance of the disorder upon their arms, which they were fully satisfied would prove an infallible charm against the worst powers of the Evil one.*

The impression created by this interesting occurrence

* The medical officers at Buenos Ayres in charge of the vaccinating department upon its first introduction, found, to their surprise, that vaccination not only stopped the progress of small-pox, but had also the effect of modifying very materially

severe cases of whooping-cough. By the desire of the authorities, a special Report was published of this result in a variety of cases, well worth notice by the faculty. There is no doubt of the success which attended various trials of it at Buenos Ayres.

will not be easily effaced, and, although subsequent events may have delayed for a time the further propagation of this inestimable blessing among the Indians, I have little doubt that it will again be sought for; and who can say that, with good management, it may not be converted into a means of domiciliating and reducing to Christianity the remnants of a race, who, in their turn, might repay with productive labour their benefactors a hundred-fold?

I must not close this chapter without adding that, generally speaking, the climate of Buenos Ayres is perhaps one of the healthiest in the world, and notwithstanding what I have said as to its peculiar effects upon some constitutions, the people in general live to a good old age in perfect enjoyment of their mental as well as bodily faculties.

That instances of longevity are common, the following extracts from the several population returns will sufficiently prove:—

In the census of 1778, 33 cases are quoted of individuals then living in the city, aged from 90 to 100; and 17 of from 100 to 112.

In the tables of mortality for 1823 and 1824, 58 persons are stated to have died between the ages of 90 and 100; 6 between 100 and 110; 3 between 112 and 116; 1 of 128, and another of 130. The two last were females.

CHAPTER XI.

Falkner's book on Patagonia, in 1774, stimulates the Spaniards to survey that Coast, and to make new Settlements upon it, which are subsequently abandoned, except that on the Negro — Villarino's exploration of that great River — He reaches the foot of the Cordillera, and is forced to return in consequence of a dispute with the Indians — Piedra, the Governor of the new Settlement, quarrels with the Natives, and is slain by them — Don Leon Rosas made Prisoner, obtains an influence over them, and re-establishes Peace — Present State of the Colonists at Carmen.

BEFORE they became independent of Spain, and whilst the people of Buenos Ayres possessed in the Banda Oriental more waste lands than they wanted, safe from any incursions of the Indians, and better adapted perhaps than any other in South America for the rearing of cattle, at that time their only object, they had no particular inducement to extend their possessions further than the river Salado; all beyond was left to the Indians, and little or nothing was known of their country, except what they chose to communicate, until Father Falkner published his account of Patagonia in a country town in England in 1774.

The appearance of that book produced results which the author perhaps little anticipated, for it stimulated the Spanish Government to make a general survey of the coast of Patagonia, and to form settlements upon it, the history of which to this day has never been made public. It is of those measures, and the information derived from them, that I purpose to give some account in this chapter.

Father Falkner, the author above alluded to, was an Englishman, who, from an early age, seems to have had a passion for travelling. Brought up to the medical profession, he went in the capacity of a surgeon on board a trading vessel to Cadiz, where he embarked in one of

the Asiento ships, bound on a slaving voyage, eventually to Buenos Ayres: there he was induced to enter the order of Jesuits, in which, as a missionary, he afterwards made himself conspicuous for the zeal with which he devoted himself to the conversion of the Indian inhabitants of the unexplored regions of that part of the world.

Forty years he passed amongst them, and, but for the expulsion of his order from South America, would probably have ended his days there. On his return to England he wrote his book, to this day the only authentic account we have of the manners and customs of the Indians of the Pampas, whilst the map it contains, compiled partly from his own observations and partly from Indian accounts, has furnished the principal, if not the sole data for all those which have hitherto been published of the interior of their country.

One of his principal objects was to point out how vulnerable by any hostile naval power were the Spanish possessions in those parts; and hardly had the book appeared when the Spanish Government, taking alarm lest his suggestions should be listened to in England, sent secret orders to the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres to have the whole coast of Patagonia carefully surveyed, with a view "to the formation of such new settlements upon it as might secure the King of Spain's rights, and forestall the English in their supposed intention of appropriating to themselves the valuable fisheries on the southern part of the coast."

Competent officers were sent out from Spain for the purpose, and no expense was spared to execute the survey as completely as possible. The command was intrusted to Don Juan de la Piedra, who sailed from Monte Video on this service on the 15th December, 1778.

Running down the coast, on the 7th January he entered the great bay, then called Bahia Sin-fondo or San Mat-thias' Bay, but now more generally known under the name of San Antonio, at the bottom of which, in latitude $42^{\circ} 13'$, he discovered the entrance of a noble harbour, which he named San Joseph's.

Piedra passed three months in examining the shores of this great gulf and the peninsula which bounds it, and so

impressed was he with its capabilities that, without proceeding further, he left an officer and part of his men to build a fort there, and returned himself to the river Plate to give an account of his discovery.

According to his report, indeed, it appeared on many grounds to offer a most eligible site for a new settlement. The port itself was said to be deep and commodious, affording anchorage for ships of any size, whilst its situation seemed particularly convenient not only for facilitating the further exploration of the great rivers Negro and Colorado, which empty themselves a little to the northward of it, but for securing more or less the entrance of those rivers against any sudden surprise by the enemies of Spain, a point to which great importance was attached in the instructions of the surveying officers, in consequence of the statements made by Falkner as to the possibility of passing up them into the very heart of the Spanish possessions.

The vast number of whales and seals which were seen in its neighbourhood, moreover, held out the promise of its becoming a station whence to carry on those fisheries which the Spanish Government of the day were so anxious to establish;* whilst the extensive salt-deposits which were met with promised an inexhaustible supply of an article of the first necessity in Buenos Ayres in curing the hides and beef.

The main drawback to the situation was a scarcity of fresh water, which, in the first instance, the Spaniards had great difficulty in finding, though subsequently a sufficiency was obtained at some distance from the coast; it was always, however, more or less brackish, and eventually caused much sickness and suffering to the settlers.

Bahia Nueva, on the other side of the peninsula, would have been a much better situation for the settlement, there being plenty of small wood fit for fuel, and permanent ponds of fresh water in the vicinity, to which wild cattle are in the habit of resorting. A still more favourable locality is the River Chupat, which falls into the sea

* In a subsequent Report of Viedma's, he says that, when the first accounts of San Joseph's were brought to Monte Video, a merchant of that place, Don Francisco de Medina, fitted out a vessel to go whaling there, the crew of which, in the first month, harpooned no less than fifty fish within the port.

about 40 miles further south, and which has been recently described by our own surveying officers. After stating the river to be free from obstacles, the banks firm and level, and that boats may be tracked up it by men or horses to a great distance, they say "about 18 miles up (by the very serpentine course of the stream) is a place admirably adapted for a settlement. It is a rising ground from 20 to 30 feet high close to the banks of the river, commanding a view of five leagues to the north and west, and an uninterrupted prospect to the eastward: throughout this extent the country is fertile in the extreme; the soil is of a dark colour and very rich; excellent grass covers it in every direction; numerous herds of wild cattle graze in the plains. There are several lakes on the south side literally covered with wild fowl; a sort of willow (the red sauce) grows on the banks of the river in great abundance, some of the trees 3 feet round and 20 feet high."

How such a situation could have escaped the notice of the Spanish officers seems very surprising.

It appears to have been totally unknown to them. The name of the Chupat does not even appear in any of their maps, although reports of it may probably have given rise to the idea of the Rio Camerones, which has no real existence, but which in the old maps figures as a considerable river running into the sea about a degree further south.

The course of the Chupat is as yet unexplored, but it is probable that it resembles that of the supposed Camerones, and originates in the eastern slopes of the Andes. The quantity of drift wood and light volcanic scoriæ found about its mouth induced our surveying officers to infer that they had been brought down by the stream from the Cordillera.*

The Viceroy was dissatisfied with Piedra for returning, and superseded him, when it devolved upon Don Francisco and Antonio Viedma (the officers next in command of those sent out from Spain) to carry into execution the intentions of their Government. These brothers were long employed upon various parts of the coast of Pata-

* See Sailing Instructions published by the Admiralty, 1850.

gonia, and collected much valuable information respecting that *terra incognita*.

In April, 1779, Don Francisco sailed from San Joseph's, to form a settlement on the river Negro, in favour of which he was fortunate enough to propitiate the Viceroy, who supplied him with men and stores, and all things necessary for the purpose.

Don Antonio was left in charge at San Joseph's; but, the scurvy breaking out amongst the people to a great extent, they became so dissatisfied that he was under the necessity in the course of the summer of returning with the greater part of them to Monte Video. He was not, however, permitted to be long idle; and in the January following (1780) was again despatched to carry out the original plan, and to survey the whole of the southern part of the coast of Patagonia.

In furtherance of these orders he examined the several ports of St. Helena, San Gregorio, the northern shores of the great Bay of San George, Port Desire, and San Julian's; which occupied him till the end of May, when, the cold weather setting in, he huddled his people for the winter at Port Desire, and despatched one of his vessels to Buenos Ayres with an account of his proceedings.

Of all the places he had visited, San Julian's appeared to offer the best, if not the only suitable, site for any permanent establishment. Everywhere else the coast presented the aspect of sandy, sterile dunes, intermixed with stones and gravel, fit only, to all appearance, for the occupation of the wild guanacoes and ostriches, which wandered over them in quest of the scanty coarse grass which constituted their only herbage. No wood was to be seen bigger than a small species of thorny shrub, fit only for the purposes of fuel; and as to water, it was everywhere scarce, and the little to be found was generally brackish and bad. The ports, too, were most of them difficult and dangerous of access, affording little or no security for vessels above the size of a brig.

San Julian's was so far an exception, that at high tide the largest ships might enter and anchor in safety within the bar off its mouth. A constant supply of water, too,

was found three or four miles inland, proceeding from some springs in the hills, about which there was good pasturage, and enough of it to have induced a numerous tribe of Indians to fix upon it as their ordinary dwelling-place.

There, also, Viedma proposed to plant a Spanish colony; and, the Viceroy approving the plan, the people were removed from Port Desire in the month of November, and commenced building their habitations in the vicinity of the springs above-mentioned, about a league from the coast. They received the materials, and a variety of necessary supplies, from Buenos Ayres, not the least useful of which were some carts and draught-horses, which enabled them afterwards to keep up a constant communication between the shore and their little settlement.

They found the Indians located in the vicinity extremely well disposed, and ready to render them every assistance in their power, in return for the trifling presents they made them. Altogether there might be about 400 of them, and about half as many more were encamped upon the Santa Cruz River further south. These were apparently the only inhabitants of those regions.

They said that in their journeys northward they fell in with no other toldos or encampments till they came to a river twenty-five days off; there were some more two days beyond again upon a second river, whence it was twenty days further to the toldos of the Indians of Tucumalal, on the river called by Villarino the Encarnacion, which falls into the great River Negro; according to their computation, something less than fifty days' travel from San Julian's.* To those parts they were in the habit of occasionally repairing in order to buy fresh horses from the tribes there resident, who, they said, had plenty of them, and exchanged them for the skins of the guanacoës, which they caught with their bolas and lassoes, and with which they often supplied the colonists with fresh meat when they had no means of their own of obtaining it.

This assistance was of the greater value to the Spaniards as the winter set in with a severity against which they were very indifferently prepared. The months of

* Their day's journey is usually about four leagues when on a long march.

June, July, and August were piercingly cold ; much snow fell, and the people, unused to such a climate, became very sickly, and many of them died. Viedma himself was so ill as to be some time confined to his bed ; nor was it till the return of spring that the survivors began to recover their strength, and were able to go on with the works.

They got through the subsequent winter better, after their houses were completed, and they were able to collect some necessary comforts about them. The vegetables they planted thrived well, and in the second February they gathered in their first harvest, which yielded a fair crop in proportion to the corn sown. The brushwood in the surrounding country was sufficient to supply them with fuel, but there was no timber fit for building, of which they were in great want ; and in quest of this Viedma was induced to make an excursion into the interior by the Indians, who asserted that an abundance was to be had near the source of the Santa Cruz river, which they said was a great lake at the foot of the Cordillera, whither they offered to guide him.

On this expedition he left San Julian's early in November, 1782, with some of his own people, and a party of the Indians under their cacique. Proceeding in a south-westerly direction over hills and dales, at a distance of about twenty-five leagues they reached the Rio Chico, or "*little river*," which the Indians said fell into the harbour of Santa Cruz. There was at that time no difficulty in fording it, the water not being much above their saddle-girths, and its width not above fifty yards, though, from the appearance of its steep and water-worn banks, it was evidently a much more considerable stream during the season of the floods. The Indians said it was the drain of a lake far in the north-west, formed by the melting of the snows in the Cordillera.

So far, wherever they halted, they had found no lack of pasturage for their horses, or water, or brushwood for fuel ; but after crossing the Chico the country became rocky and barren. About 14 leagues beyond the Chico they came to a much more considerable river, called the Chalia

or *Fish River* by the Indians, described as issuing from another lake in the mountains, between the sources of the Rio Chico and those of the great river of Santa Cruz, which it joined, they said, further on.

They found it too deep to cross where they first reached it, and were obliged in consequence to follow its course upwards for eight leagues, over a stony, rugged country, which lamed all their horses, and the desolate appearance of which was increased by the visitation of a flight of locusts which had devoured all the vegetation for three leagues. They crossed it, at last, at a place called by their Indian guides Quesanexes, from a remarkable rock standing out like a tower from the rocky, rugged cliffs which there bounded the bed of the river (some basaltic formation perhaps?)

On looking at the sketch, in the seventh volume of the 'Journal of the Geographical Society,' of Captain FitzRoy's Survey of the river Santa Cruz, it appears probable that the Chalia is the stream which runs into it from *Basalt Glen*, and which, though a very inconsiderable one at the season he passed by it, was manifestly one of much more importance at other times.

Eight leagues after crossing the Chalia they came to the great lake under the Cordillera, which the Indians had talked of as the origin of the Santa Cruz River.

Viedma describes it as of great extent, situated in a sort of bay, or amphitheatre of the mountains, from the steep ravines of which ran down the many streams which filled it, chiefly derived from the melting of the snows in the north-west: he skirted it for twelve leagues to its extremity in that direction, and estimated its extreme length at about fourteen; its width, he says, might be from four to five leagues.

Some dark patches amongst the snow on the distant heights indicated the clumps of trees of which the Indians had spoken; but the few which Viedma was able to examine were not what he had been led to expect: he speaks of them as resembling a wild cherry, with a fruit in appearance not unlike it, though of a more orange colour, and without a stone and very tasteless; the wood

stunted, and so crooked as to be entirely unfit for anything but burning. May it not have been the crab-apple? We know there are plenty of apples further north in the same range. Or is it the evergreen beech of Patagonia, described by Captain FitzRoy as bearing the yellow-looking fungi which the Fuegian Indians eat?

Describing the appearance of the Cordillera from the head of the lake, he says: towards the north it looked like a vast table-land stretching from east to west; but it had a different appearance in the south, breaking into steep and broken peaks, for the most part covered with snow. The Indians said that neither to the north nor south was the main chain passable by man or beast for a very long distance.

They all concurred in stating that a large river issued from the south-east angle of the lake, which they believed to be the great river of Santa Cruz.* Viedma, unfortunately, was not able to examine it as he wished, in consequence of the apparent swelling of the mountain-torrents, which alarmed the Indians lest they should so increase the rivers as to prevent their recrossing them on their return; nor were they very wrong, for, by the time they got back to the Chico, they found it a wide and rapid stream, no longer fordable.

It was proposed that some of the Indians who could swim should tow Viedma across on a balsa, which they set to work to construct of hides and sticks; but when completed, it looked so frail and dangerous a ferry, that the Spaniards preferred running the risk of swimming their horses over. This they accomplished without accident, and reached San Julian's in safety again on the 3rd of December, after nearly a month's absence, during which they were much indebted to the Indians for their friendly aid, and knowledge of the country through which they passed.

The people of this tribe, who had never seen a Spaniard before, Viedma describes as of large stature, generally

* Captain FitzRoy went up it, with three whale-boats, for 245 miles, and found it a very considerable river the whole way—never fordable, according to the accounts he received. He must have been very near the lake when he found himself obliged to turn back from his provisions failing.

above six feet high, and very stout and fleshy; their faces broad, but of good expression, and their complexion rather sunburnt than naturally dark. Their skin cloaks, worn very long, and reaching when on foot to their heels, gave them an appearance of greater height than the reality. Their habits and customs, according to his account, seem to differ little from those of the Pampa tribes, of which I shall elsewhere have to speak. The men employed themselves in hunting guanacoës and other animals for their skins, and for meat to eat, whilst the women performed all the domestic offices and drudgery of the household, such as it was.

The good disposition uniformly shown by them impressed Viedma with a very favourable opinion of them, forming, as it did, a striking contrast with the character of the tribes further north.

Shortly after this excursion (in April, 1783) Don Antonio, considering his little colony as fairly planted, proceeded to Buenos Ayres for the recovery of his health, where the mortification awaited him of learning that all his labour had been thrown away, and that the Government of Spain had resolved to break up the Patagonian settlements.

It appeared that the great trouble and expense incurred, from the necessity of supplying all their first wants from Buenos Ayres; the grumbling and complaints of the settlers themselves, of the hardships they had to go through, and of the inclemency of a climate to which they were unaccustomed (which, joined to the bad quality of their salt provisions, produced scurvy amongst them to a frightful extent), had all tended to create so unfavourable an impression upon the Viceroy, that he had been led to express a strong opinion to his Government as to their worse than uselessness.

The consequence was, that, after three or four years, in which upwards of a million of hard dollars was spent upon them, orders were sent out to abandon them all, except the settlement upon the Rio Negro, after setting up at San Joseph's, Port Desire, and San Julian's, signals of possession, as the English had done at Port Egmont,

for evidence, in case of need, of his Catholic Majesty's rights.*

Don Antonio Viedma, who took a lively interest in the settlement he had formed at San Julian's, in vain raised his voice against this determination, and endeavoured to show that the grievances of the settlers were but the natural difficulties to be expected in the infancy of all new colonies; that they knew the worst of them, and many of their remedies; that a further experience of the seasons had shown that the lands, so far from being unfit for cultivation, as amongst other things was alleged, were quite sufficiently productive to support them in after years without further aid from Buenos Ayres; and as to the expenses, the heaviest were already incurred; whilst the fisheries alone promised sources of wealth and revenue to the mother country, as well as to the neighbouring viceroyalty. But these arguments met with little attention, and came too late to alter the determination of the higher powers.

The same jealous policy which led the Spanish Government to cause the coast of Patagonia to be surveyed, equally influenced them in withholding from publication the results, which remained carefully hid from all inspection in the archives of the Viceroyalty, though I cannot but think, had the reports even of Viedma himself been given to the world, they would have been the best possible security to his Catholic Majesty against the curiosity or encroachments of foreign nations. Not only did they all tend to show that the coast itself was full of dangers, but they also proved that the interior of the land was, throughout, a sterile and desolate waste, scarce of water

* In 1670 Sir John Narborough passed six months at San Julian's. He also visited Port Desire, and took possession of it, with all due form, for his master, Charles II. Anson was also at both places in 1741; and the account of his voyage contains views of that part of the coast, and of the harbour of San Julian's.

Narborough, who is very precise in his description of the country, mentions a fact of some interest to geologists. He says, "Going on shore on the north-west side of the harbour of San Julian's with thirty men, I travelled seven or eight

miles over the hills, &c. On the tops of the hills and in the ground are very large oyster-shells. They lie in veins in the earth and in the firm rocks, and on the sides of the hills in the country. They are the biggest oyster-shells that ever I saw, some six, some seven inches broad, yet not one oyster is to be found in the harbour."

Mr. Darwin found these gigantic oysters at the same place, and describes them as one of the most striking characteristics of the geology of the Patagonian formations.

and vegetation—a region fit enough for the wild beasts which had possession of it, but very little adapted for the supply of any of the wants of man. Such possessions could have offered no temptations to any European power whatever, nor can it, I think, create surprise that Spain herself abandoned them.

With respect to the fisheries, had there been any real spirit of enterprise in the people of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, they might have monopolized them; but no such spirit existed, and they were suffered to fall into the hands of the more adventurous sailors of England, North America, and France. They equally neglected the importation of salt, though a more necessary article to them, perhaps, could hardly have been placed within their reach; and after Viedma's voyage it was well known that any quantity of it, of an excellent quality, could be obtained either at San Joseph's, Port Desire,* or San Julian's. All that was necessary was to collect it at the proper season, in the months of January, February, and March, when it is hard and dry, and consequently in the fittest state for shipping.

Dean Funes, the historian of Buenos Ayres, writing on this subject, cannot suppress his indignation at the apathy of his countrymen, though he attempts, at the same time, to find an excuse for it in an observation of Humboldt's. "Who doubts," he says, "that the Spaniards of South America might have carried on these fisheries at infinitely less cost than the English and North Americans, when their own coasts of Patagonia and round Cape Horn are known to abound in whales, even in the harbours, by all accounts? But it was not the cost, neither was it the want of hands, which caused this important object to remain neglected. It was the natural indolence of the people and indifference of the Government. How, indeed, was it possible," he adds, "to find men to follow the hard profession of the sea, amongst a people who prefer a hunch of beef to all the comforts of life? 'The hope of gain,' Baron Humboldt adds, 'is too weak a

* A little to the north of Port Desire, in about lat. 47° 30', deposits of guano exist, from which some ship loads have

been latterly brought to this country; but it is not, I believe, so much esteemed as that from the West Coast.

stimulus in a climate where bounteous nature offers man a thousand ways of obtaining a comfortable subsistence without the necessity of leaving his native home to go to fight with the monsters of the deep.' "

The Dean's criticisms are not confined to the Spaniards of South America. Speaking of the ill success of a company in Spain to which the king, in 1790, had conceded extraordinary privileges, as an encouragement to carry on these fisheries, he says: "Its continual losses, up to the period of its final failure, lead us to the conclusion that projects depending upon intelligence, economy, and activity, are not made for a people notoriously behindhand in information, and habitually extravagant and lazy."

Whilst Don Antonio was occupied at San Julian's, his brother, Don Francisco, was with no less zeal laying the foundations of the settlement upon the Rio Negro, the only one, as it appeared, of these new establishments which was destined to be maintained.

It certainly possessed many advantages over the more southern parts of the coast which had been explored. It was not, like San Julian's, a thousand miles distant from the governing authorities. Succours in case of need could be sent to it by land as well as by sea from Buenos Ayres; and this consideration alone obviated the strongest objections made by the poorer classes to settling themselves permanently on other parts of the coast. The river itself was not only a safeguard against the Indians, but fertilized the adjoining lands, and insured to the colonists a never-failing supply of fresh water, the want of which had caused perhaps the greatest part of their sufferings at the other places.

There were also other motives which operated more powerfully than these in determining the Spanish Government to maintain a settlement upon the River Negro.

It was by proceeding up this river that Falkner supposed a hostile naval power might surprise the Spanish territories in the interior and in Chile, a notion founded upon the concurrent accounts given him by the Indians of the possibility of ascending it as far as the Cordillera, and

even to Mendoza. If these accounts were to be depended upon, and such a communication were really practicable between the shores of the Atlantic and the provinces of Chile, and Cuyo, it was impossible to foresee to what important consequences it might lead, and how valuable (independently of its advantages as a military position) any settlement might become which would necessarily be the key of that communication.

To determine a question of so much interest, in a geographical as well as political point of view, was therefore one of the first objects after the settlers were fairly established; and an expedition was prepared to explore the river to its sources, and to examine its principal affluents. The command was intrusted to Don Basilio Villarino, a master-pilot in the Spanish navy, who had sailed with Piedra in 1778; and had since been the chief practical officer engaged in the survey originally undertaken by that commander. In the four years which had elapsed since the commencement of that service, he had himself examined and laid down the Bays of Anegada and of Todos Santos, the bar of the River Negro, and the ports of San Antonio, of San Joseph, and that to the south called Porto Nuevo. He had also surveyed the River Colorado for about seven leagues from its mouth. No man, then, in those parts could be better qualified for the task, and no expense or supply was spared, that he might be furnished with everything likely to ensure his success.

Four large launches (chalupas) were fitted out, to which masters, carpenters, caulkers, and ample crews were appointed, besides a number of peons with horses, who were to attend them along the banks of the river to assist in reconnoitring the country, and in towing the boats against the stream, when contrary winds might prevent their sailing.

On the 28th September, 1782, they started from the settlement of Carmen, and were absent till the 25th of May following, nearly eight months; and, although on some points they did not perhaps realize all the expectations of those who sent them, yet they obtained much new

and valuable information, and for the first time determined correctly the course of the great river they ascended, and proved the possibility of navigating it to the very foot of the Andes.

The heavy Spanish launches unfortunately proved ill-calculated for the service, and could make but little way with the fairest wind against the force of the stream. The men were obliged in consequence continually to have recourse to the towing-rope, a tedious and laborious operation, which occupied them a whole month before they reached the great island of Choleechel, about seventy leagues, according to their daily reckoning, from Carmen.

This island * (the eastern extremity of which was found to be in latitude 39°) is a point of great importance connected with the inroads of the Aucazes Indians into the Province of Buenos Ayres. It is here that, in their journeys from the Cordillera, they leave the course of the Negro and strike across to the River Colorado, whence their beaten track runs straight to the mountain ranges of the Ventana and Vuulcan, where they pitch their tents, recruit their horses, and watch for a favourable opportunity to scour the Pampas, and carry off the cattle from the defenceless estancia on the frontiers of Buenos Ayres.

Being at all times greatly encumbered with their women, children, and cattle, and having no notion of anything like a raft or canoe to facilitate the passage of the rivers they have to cross, they are obliged to resort to those points where they are fordable, and afterwards to follow such routes as will lead them by places affording sufficient pasture for the daily maintenance of their horses and cattle. Now, in their descent from the Cordillera, their only pass across the great River Neuquen is just above its junction with the Negro, the course of which they are forced afterwards to follow as far as the Choleechel, from the impracticability of the country to the north of it, and the scarcity of fresh water for their animals.

* The Choleechel is not now a single island, but is divided into two or three by branches of the river which intersect

it. These channels may have been formed since Villarino's voyage.

The great importance, therefore, of any military post at this point, will be at once evident; and Villarino did not hesitate to give his strong opinion to his superiors, that a fort built here, with a small Spanish garrison, would be one of the most effectual checks upon these savages, and the best defence for the cattle owners of Buenos Ayres.

After fifty years of further experience, this suggestion (in 1832) has been followed up by General Rosas, the present Governor, and the Choleechel, now called Isla de Rosas, has been occupied as a military station.

After reaching their tracks, it was not long before the Spaniards fell in with a party of the Indians themselves, travelling by the river's side towards the Cordillera. Villarino, anxious to conciliate them in order to obtain their aid as he proceeded, was at first lavish in his presents, particularly of spirits and tobacco, which appeared to be the objects most in request among them. The more, however, they got, the more they wanted; and upon the first hesitation to comply with their unreasonable demands, they became as insolent as they were importunate. They conceived suspicions, too, of the real designs of the Spaniards in exploring those parts, and shrewdly enough guessed that some more permanent occupation of their country was projected—an idea in which they were confirmed by the lies of a vagabond who deserted to them from the boats, and whose first object, of course, was to sow the seeds of dissension between them and his countrymen, in order to facilitate his own escape.

Although they dared not openly attack the Spaniards, they soon gave manifest proof of their determination to thwart the progress of the expedition by every means in their power. Riding on in advance of the boats, they destroyed the pasturage along shore, and, hovering just out of the reach of danger to themselves, annoyed the party by all kinds of petty hostilities, and kept Villarino in continual alarm for the safety of his peons and cattle.

This conduct on the part of the natives, added to the certainty now acquired that the service would be of much

longer duration than had been contemplated, induced Villarino, before proceeding further, to send back to Carmen for fresh instructions, and such supplies as might render him independent for the rest of the voyage.

In passing the Choleechel, he had been much struck with a little peninsula, covered with rich pasturage, and easily made defensible against the Indians; and thither he now returned to await the assistance he had applied for. By running a sort of palisade across the narrow isthmus which separated their position from the main, and landing their swivels from the boats, the Spaniards soon formed a little fortification,* perfectly secure from any sudden attack on the part of the Indians, but of them they saw nothing more so long as they remained there.

Six weeks elapsed before Villarino received answers to his letters, conveying to him the orders of Don Francisco Viedma to proceed with the expedition; but in the interval the river fell so considerably that Villarino became alarmed (and not, as it appeared, without good cause) lest he should be driven into the season when the waters were at their lowest, which would greatly add to his difficulties as he advanced: nor was this the worst. Though Don Francisco had sent him an ample supply of provisions and other necessaries for the prosecution of the enterprise, he had at the same time peremptorily ordered him to send back all the peons with their horses, under the idea that this would be the surest means of obviating any future disputes or collision with the Indians. Villarino, without time to remonstrate, had no option but to obey this order, though he saw at once that it deprived him of his main-stay, and would necessarily very much retard his future progress.

Under these circumstances, on the 20th of December, the boats once more got under sail to proceed up the river. Its winding course rendered the sails of little use, and it was hard work without the horses to make way against the force of the stream, the rapidity of which, as well as the difficulty of getting along, was much increased by innumerable small islands, which stud the river above

* Fort Villarino in the map.

Choleechel; indeed, the men were nearly worn out, as might have been expected, with the toil of working at the towing-rope almost continually.

In ten days they only advanced twenty-four leagues; they were not then sorry to fall in again with some of their fellow-creatures, albeit they were Indians, from whom they procured some horses, which relieved them from this part of their labour at least. They, too, were journeying westward, and much information was obtained from them respecting the upper parts of the river which greatly encouraged them to proceed, for there seemed little doubt from their accounts that it was navigable to the foot of the Cordillera, from whence they might easily communicate with Valdivia.

These Indians were returning to their ordinary haunts on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera, over against that city, and they readily offered their assistance to the Spaniards to show them the way over, when they arrived at their lands, which they described as being near the Huechum-lavquen, or lake of the boundary mentioned by Falkner. They said it was not more than three days' journey from thence to Valdivia, with the people of which it appeared they were in the habits of intercourse, and among whom they found ready purchasers for all the cattle they could carry off from the Pampas. Thus it appeared that the people of Buenos Ayres might thank their countrymen on the shores of the Pacific for a great part of the depredations they were continually complaining of from the hostile incursions of these savages.

This party was a fair exemplification of the consequences of such a system. It consisted altogether of about 300 people under their caciques, who had left their country more than a year before for the sole purpose of collecting cattle for the Valdivians; and they were now on their way home with about 800 head, every animal of which bore a Buenos Ayrean mark, and had been stolen from some estancia in that province.

They were less shy than the Indians whom the Spaniards had before fallen in with, and so long as they got plenty to eat and drink they journeyed on by the side of

the boats in apparent good humour, giving such assistance as was in their power, and such information as they could with respect to the country they passed through. But this did not last long; and when after about a fortnight they found that Villarino could not afford to make the caciques and their wives drunk every day, they changed their tone, and even went so far as to lay a plot for getting the boats' crews on shore on pretence of a feast, in order to rob and murder them. Frustrated in this by a timely discovery of their treachery, they suddenly galloped off, carrying with them, however, two of the men, whom it was supposed, by means of their women, they had contrived to inveigle from the boats.

Cunning and treachery, Villarino observes, seem the special characteristics of these people; thieves by habit, plunder is the object of their lives, and to obtain it fair means or foul are alike justifiable in their eyes. Kindness is thrown away upon them, and fear alone seems to have any influence over them which can be calculated upon.

In thirty days from their leaving the Choleechel, the boats arrived at the confluence of the River Neuquen, or Sanquel-leubú, as it is sometimes called by the Indians, from the huge canes or reeds which overgrow its banks. This river was erroneously supposed by Villarino to be the Diamante, and he did not hesitate to lay it down as that river, and to express his belief that had he gone up it, in twenty-five days he should have found himself in the province of Mendoza. Subsequent information has corrected this error, and shown it to be the river *Neuquen*, which here joins the Negro, and which, rising a little above Antuco, is increased by many other streams from the Cordillera, which subsequently fall into it.

Villarino was blamed for not exploring this river, certainly by far the most considerable affluent of the Negro. He seems to have satisfied himself with merely ascending it in a little boat for about a couple of leagues, which brought him to the place where the Indians are in the habit of crossing it, and where he doubted whether there was sufficient water at the time to allow the launches to

go up, though, from the vestiges of the floods along shore, it was evidently navigable at times for much larger craft. His best excuse for not doing more was his anxiety to reach the Cordillera before the state of the snow should prevent his communicating with Valdivia.

To make the best of his way onward in that direction was now his main object; but the difficulties he had as yet experienced were nothing to those which awaited him in his further progress. The horses obtained from the Indians were completely worn out, and after passing the Neuquen, the whole labour of towing the boats again devolved upon the men.

About a league above the junction of the two rivers, the latitude was found to be $38^{\circ} 44'$. The course of the Negro shortly afterwards was found to incline more to the south-west, apparently turned off by the prolongation of a chain of hills from the north, which equally determines the course of the Neuquen higher up, and as far as could be seen from the point of its junction with the Negro.

Through these hills the Negro has found or forced a passage, which on either side is bounded by steep, rocky escarpments, rising 500 or 600 feet above it, and where the stream ran with such violence, that it was with the greatest difficulty the launches were dragged on, one by one; a difficulty further increased by the shallowness of the water, which made it necessary in many places to deepen the channel with spades and pick-axes, and to unload the boats and carry their cargoes considerable distances, before they could proceed.*

All this caused incredible fatigue to the men, unaccustomed to such service, and supported only on the dry and salt provisions they had with them. Their legs became swelled with working for days together in the water, and they were covered with sores from the bites of the flies and mosquitoes which hovered in clouds above its surface. The scurvy broke out, and some of them became seriously ill: fortunately they fell in with some apple-trees,

* The river was probably unusually low even for the season; for Villarino observes in this part of his journal, that

it was nearly five months since they had had a rainy day.

the fruit of which was a great comfort to the sick ; but the snow-capped peak of the Cerro Imperial, as well as the whole range of the Cordillera, was now in full view before them ; and the hope of being soon in communication with Valdivia gave them fresh courage, and redoubled their exertions to reach their journey's end.

Two whole months were spent in making a distance of forty-one leagues from the Neuquen. This brought them, on the 25th of March, to the foot of the great range of the Cordillera, and to an island about a mile and a half long, where the main stream was found to be formed by two distinct rivers, there uniting from opposite directions ; the one coming from the south, the other from the north.

As they knew by their latitude, which a little before reaching this point they had found to be $40^{\circ} 2' S.$, that they were already to the south of Valdivia, Villarino had no hesitation as to which of these rivers he should attempt to ascend. Before going on, however, he determined on giving the men a day or two's rest, of which he availed himself to make a short excursion in his little boat up the southern fork, which turned out to be a river of some magnitude.

At its mouth, he says, even at that time, when the waters were at their lowest, it was about 200 yards across, and about five feet in depth ; its course from the S.S.W. running with much velocity through a deeply-cut channel over a bed of large rounded stones : the country, as far as could be seen, was a desolate mass of gravel. Some little way up they found the grave of an Indian cacique, over which two stuffed horses were stuck upon stakes, according to their custom ; further on, the shore was strewed with the trunks of many large trees, brought down by the floods ; they were of various sorts, but principally pine and cedar, probably the same as is shipped in large quantities from the opposite side of the Cordillera and from Chiloe, for other parts of Chile and Peru. From the Indians they subsequently learned that dense forests of these trees were to be met with higher up the river. How valuable they would be to the settlers on

the Rio Negro, and how easily they might be floated down to them!

Villarino named this river the Rio de la Encarnacion. By the Indians it is called Limé-leubú, or the river of leeches: indeed they call the main stream so, during its whole course to the junction of the Neuquen; after which they give it the appellation of Curi-leubú, the River Negro. They described it as proceeding from the great lake of Nahuel-huapi, where, in the year 1704, the Jesuits established a mission, which was afterwards destroyed by some hostile savages, and the Fathers murdered. The vestiges of their habitations and chapels still remain, and that part of the country is called by the Indians Tuca-malal, probably from some allusion to the ruins; the inhabitants call themselves Huilliches, or the southern people. Through them, to Villarino's surprise, the Pehuenches Indians, whom he shortly afterwards fell in with, had already received accounts of the establishment of the Spaniards at San Julian's; the news of which had doubtless been carried to them by the friendly Indians, with whom Viedma had been in communication at that place, and whom he speaks of in his diary as having gone northward on an expedition which lasted four months, to buy horses from the Indians in that direction.

But if the Spaniards were surprised to hear these people speak of their countrymen at San Julian's, 600 miles off, they were much more so to be asked by them if the war between Spain and England was over. In this, however, it turned out that they had a more direct interest than might have been expected; certain articles of European manufacture which they had been in the habit of purchasing from the Valdivians having become scarce and dear, from the interruption of the trade of that place with Spain in consequence of the war. Who would have supposed that the Indians of Araucania could have known or cared whether England and Spain were at war or not?

Having taken this cursory view of the Encarnacion, Villarino returned to continue his voyage up the northern branch of the Negro, which is called the Catapuliche by the Indians. It would perhaps be more correct to con-

sider, as they do, the Encarnacion as the upper part of the Negro, and the Catapuliche as an affluent joining it from the opposite direction. Its shallowness prevented their making much way up it; after great labour and difficulty, in twenty days they only advanced ten leagues, and then all hope of getting further was abandoned. This was on the 17th of April, when they were in latitude $39^{\circ} 40'$, over against Valdivia.

The Catapuliche runs along the base of the Cordillera, distant five or six miles; it is joined by several streams from the mountains, which irrigate the intervening slopes and plains, and form good pasture-grounds for the Indians; and here they found their old acquaintances who had run away from them lower down the river, and who, nothing abashed by what had passed, came at once to the boats to beg for spirits and tobacco.

Villarino, restraining his indignation at their effrontery, renewed his intercourse with them in the hope of obtaining their assistance in reaching Valdivia, which, by their accounts, was not more than two or three days' journey distant across the mountains. Deputations arrived also from the Pehuenches and Aucazes, Araucanian tribes in the neighbourhood, with offers of aid and presents of fruit and other necessaries, and everything promised a speedy realization of their wishes to be placed in communication in a few days with their countrymen on the shores of the Pacific.

At the moment, however, when they were looking forward to the speedy accomplishment of this object, their hopes were blasted by an unlucky quarrel amongst the Indians themselves, in which one of their principal caciques, Guchumpilqui, was killed. His followers rose to avenge his death, and Chulilaquini, the chief who killed him, fled with his tribe to the Spaniards, earnestly soliciting their protection; to obtain which the more readily, he told a plausible story of a general league being formed amongst the Indians to attack them on the first favourable opportunity, and that it was in consequence of his refusal to join in this coalition that the dispute had arisen which cost Guchumpilqui, the principal in the plot, his life.

As this Guchumpilqui was the leader of the tribe they had met with on the Rio Negro, whose manœuvres had already impressed Villarino with the belief that he meditated some such treachery, he was quite prepared to credit Chulilaquini's tale; and thinking it at any rate advisable to secure the aid of some of the savages, he too readily promised him the protection he asked for. This brought the expedition to an end.

As soon as it was known that the Spaniards were disposed to take the part of Chulilaquini, they were regarded as declared enemies, and preparations were made to attack them. The Indians were bent on avenging the death of their chief, and it was soon evident that, as to communicating with the Valdivians under the circumstances, it was out of the question. After some fruitless efforts, at any rate, to get a letter conveyed across the mountains, Villarino was reluctantly obliged to make up his mind to return.

Since entering the Catapuliche, much snow and rain had fallen, which had increased its depth by three or four feet: it had become, in fact, a navigable river, instead of a shallow stream. Their Indian allies helped them to lay in a stock of apples, of which there are great quantities in all those parts, and of piñones, the fruit of the pine-tree, which, taken out of the husk, is not unlike a Barbary date in taste as well as appearance; and with these supplies they once more got under weigh, the swollen stream carrying them down rapidly and safely over all the shoals and dangers which had cost them so much toil and difficulty to surmount as they went up; the land, too, had put on a new appearance after the rain, and many places which appeared arid and sterile wastes before, were now covered with green herbage.

With little more than an occasional oar to keep them in the mid-stream, they went the whole way down to Carmen without the smallest obstruction, and arrived there in just three weeks from the time of leaving the Catapuliche, after an absence altogether of eight months. Thus it was proved to be perfectly practicable to pass by this river from the shores of the Atlantic to within fifty or sixty

miles of Valdivia on the Pacific, the mountain range alone intervening.

To what beneficial account this discovery of an inland water communication across the continent might have been turned by an enterprising people it is difficult to calculate. The Spaniards seemed rather desirous to conceal than to publish the fact of its existence. Till the expedition of General Rosas in 1833 against the Indians, no boat ever again went up the Negro higher than Choelechel.

Chulilaquini followed the boats, and settled his people within reach of his Spanish friends, in the neighbourhood of Carmen ; but the Indians, in general, looked upon the new settlement with the greatest jealousy, and became extremely troublesome.

In this state of things, Don Juan de la Piedra, who it has already been stated was originally sent from Spain to take command of the establishments in Patagonia, and who had never ceased to remonstrate against the act of the Viceroy which deprived him of that command, was reinstated by orders from the government at home ; and proceeded in consequence to the Rio Negro, to resume his functions as principal Superintendent (1785) : over-anxious, perhaps, after what had passed, to distinguish himself, instead of making any attempt to conciliate the Indians, he boastingly took the field, and advanced into their lands to attack them, with a force totally inadequate to the purpose : the consequence was, that he was surrounded and totally defeated. He himself perished miserably, and several officers fell into the hands of the savages : happily for them some relations of the victors were at the same time in the power of the Viceroy, and the hope of recovering them by exchange induced the savages for once to save the lives of their prisoners.

Amongst them was Don Leon Rosas, father of the present Governor of Buenos Ayres, then a Captain in the King's service, who turned his captivity to such good account, that he not only succeeded in an extraordinary degree in conciliating the respect and good will of the principal caciques, but finally brought about a peace

between them and the Viceroy, which lasted many years, and deservedly established the celebrity of the name of Rosas throughout the Pampas.

The Spanish Government for a short time took some interest in the establishment on the Negro:—upwards of 700 settlers were sent there from Galicia, and large sums were spent upon it; but the expectations formed of its importance were not realised. The colonists remained satisfied to carry on a petty traffic with the Indians for skins, instead of launching out upon the more adventurous speculation of the fisheries on the coast; and the authorities at Buenos Ayres, finding them more expensive than useful, became indifferent about them, and allowed them to sink into the insignificance of a remote and unprofitable colony.

In 1825, when the war between Buenos Ayres and Brazil broke out, there were hardly 800 inhabitants. The blockade of the river Plate made it then a resort for the privateers of the Republic, and once more brought it into notice.

A thriving coasting trade is now carried on with it,* and many seal-skins are collected there to be sent to Buenos Ayres, as well as those of the guanaco, hare, skunk, and other animals, brought in by the Indians from the deserts further south: it has of late years also furnished the Saladeros of Buenos Ayres with supplies of salt, which is collected in considerable quantities from the Salinas, about fifteen miles from the town, described by Darwin as in winter shallow lakes of brine, converted in summer into fields of snow-white salt, in some places two or three feet in thickness. He saw some hundreds of tons of the salt lying there ready for exportation: it is crystallised in large cubes and very pure, but for curing hides it is not found to answer so well as the sea-salt from

* The officers of the Beagle surveyed many miles of the river Negro, as well as the bar at its entrance. According to them, no vessel drawing more than eleven feet water can enter without risk. If at a favourable time any person should be induced to risk crossing the bar with a ship of greater draught, he should bear in mind that it is much more difficult to

get to sea than to enter, because wind which is fair for approaching raises the water, and the reverse. Although ships drawing fourteen feet have passed the bar at unusually favourable times, others of only ten feet draught have been detained forty days in the river.—*Voyage of the Beagle*, vol. ii., p. 302-3.

the Cape de Verds, with which it is generally mixed when used.

Had the Government of Buenos Ayres been able to exercise any efficient superintendence over the adjoining coast, the fishery of seals, and seal elephants, might have become of importance; but in the absence of all control, the unrestrained and indiscriminate slaughter of the young as well as of the old animals has driven them from their former haunts further south, where they are still found by the English and North American fishermen, who know their *rookeries*, as they are called, and in the proper season take them in great numbers.

The Governor of Carmen is an officer appointed from Buenos Ayres, to the Junta of which Province the inhabitants name a representative. In 1832 their number was supposed to be about 2000, of which nearly 500 were blacks.

CHAPTER XII.

Malaspina's important Scientific Expedition in 1789 — Suppression of its Results — His MSS. in the British Museum — His officers Espinosa and Bauza map the Road from Chile — De Souillac that to Cordova — Azara and others fix the Positions of all the Forts and Towns of the Province of Buenos Ayres — Cruz's remarkable Journey across the Southern Pampas from Antuco — His account of the Pehuenches Indians — Anecdotes of some Caciques brought to Buenos Ayres — Significance of their Names.

PIEDRA's orders confined him to the east coast of Patagonia, as has been shown in the preceding chapter; but in 1789 Spain sent forth an expedition of much more importance in a scientific point of view.

The ships employed were the "Atrevida" and "Descubierta," under the command of the well-known Malaspina, who not only revised Piedra's and Viedma's survey of the harbours of Patagonia, but, rounding Cape Horn, explored the whole coast of the Pacific, from its southern extreme to the Russian settlements in the north-west. Malaspina, upon his return, was imprisoned; nor was it till several years afterwards that his admirable charts were published by order of Langara, the Spanish Minister of Marine, which have been so useful to modern navigators in the South American Seas, and will long be an honour to the Spanish navy. Malaspina's name, however, was not permitted to be affixed to them, neither has the journal of his voyage ever been published.

It is only recently that the details have been discovered at Buenos Ayres of the first portion of his work, viz., the survey, in 1789, of the whole of the northern and southern shores of the Plate, as high up as the Paraná, in which nearly 150 points were fixed by him. It was this survey, with the soundings afterwards taken by the pilot Oyarvide, that furnished the materials for the chart of the river

Plate, officially published at Madrid in 1810. Nor was this all that Buenos Ayres owed to Malaspina: upon his return to Valparaiso from the north-west coast, he detached two of his most intelligent officers, Don José Espinosa, afterwards Chief of the Hydrographic Department at Madrid, and Don Felipe Bauza,* since well known to men of science in this country, to map the road across the Pampas; and by them the true positions of Santiago in Chile, of Mendoza, San Luis, the post of Gutierrez on the river Tercero, and other points along the line, were, for the first time, determined. Their map, so far as it extends, is the best, and the only one of that line of country, I believe, ever drawn by any one capable of taking an observation.

Whilst they were thus engaged in fixing one part of the geography of the interior, the Viceroy turned to account the temporary sojourn at Buenos Ayres of some of the officers attached to the commission for laying down the boundaries under the treaty of 1777 with Portugal,

* Bauza died in England not long ago, when the British Museum purchased a large collection of MS. papers which he had accumulated relating to the geography and hydrography of South America. Upon examining these at the Museum, I discovered amongst them not only the original notes of his journey with Espinosa across the Pampas to Buenos Ayres, but a Report prepared by Malaspina himself for the Spanish Government, upon the physical geography and political state of the provinces of the Río de la Plata, Patagonia, and Chile, divided under the following heads, viz. :—

1. Terrenos y Producciones del Río de la Plata, ó descripción física.

2. Descripción política.

3. Descripción física de la Costa Patagónica y Islas Malvinas, con noticias de los Patagones, y con un vocabulario de estos Indios; y continuación por la parte del O de este Continente hasta Chiloe.

4. Reflexiones políticas sobre dominios de S. M. desde Buenos Ayres hasta Chiloe por el Cabo de Hornos.

5. Descripción física del Terreno y Habitantes de las Costas comprendidas entre Chiloe y Coquimbo.

6. Examen político de los mismos Terrenos.

(MS. No. 17,603, *Brit. Mus.*)

These perhaps are not the least interesting or important results of an expedition which, in imitation of those of Cook

and La Perouse, was fitted out by Spain without regard to expense, in order to obtain the best possible information respecting the vast territories under her dominion in South America, and the non-publication of which, after Malaspina's return, occasioned so much disappointment in Spain. Time was when these papers would have been read with the greatest possible interest, not only in Spain, but throughout Europe.

“The public looked anxiously for the results of this enterprise, and truly it was most desirable that such important labours should not remain hidden or forgotten. Their value to all navigators, the additions they offered to the science of hydrography, the honour of the Spanish nation itself, all called for their publication. Nevertheless, notwithstanding so many powerful reasons for it, and contrary to every hope and expectation, the history of this voyage has suffered the same fate as have unhappily so many works of the same kind in Spain, the names even of whose authors have been suppressed.”—*Vide* ‘Memorias sobre las Observaciones Astronómicas hechas por los Navegantes Españoles,’ &c. Madrid, 1809. Vol. i.

Such were the observations put forth on this subject in an official publication printed at Madrid under the authority of a Spanish Ministry in 1809.

and employed them in mapping other portions of the territory under his immediate jurisdiction.

In 1794 M. Sourreyere de Souillac, the astronomer of the third division of that commission, laid down the line of road from Buenos Ayres to Cordova, and fixed the latitude of that city in $31^{\circ} 26' 14''$.

In 1796 Azara, with Cerviño and other officers employed on the same service, made a detailed survey of the frontiers of the province of Buenos Ayres, in the course of which they fixed the positions of all the towns and forts of any importance between Melinqué, its north-western extremity, and the most southern bend of the river Salado, beyond Chascomus. That river they found to have its origin in a lake in latitude $34^{\circ} 4' 45''$, longitude from Buenos Ayres $3^{\circ} 36' 32''$; it is an insignificant stream, of trivial importance till joined by the Flores.

Thus materials were collected for laying down a considerable portion of country upon the very best authorities; but, like the surveys of the coast, many years were suffered to elapse ere they were made available to the public. Bauza's map* was not published till 1810, and it was only in 1822 that the positions fixed by Azara in 1796 appeared for the first time as his in the "Statistical Register," published that year at Buenos Ayres. De Souillac's might have remained unknown for ever, had not Señor de Angelis lately brought them to light; as well as Malaspina's "Fixed Points on the Shores of the River Plate."

But, after all, however valuable were these data in perfecting a knowledge of the country already occupied, they led to no new discoveries, and by far the greater part of the interior of the continent, to the south of the Plate, remained unexplored, till Spain becoming involved in the general war carried on between the great powers in Europe, her colonial subjects on the shores of the Pacific began to experience more or less inconvenience from the stoppage of their ordinary trade. They found

* Carta esferica de la parte interior de la America Meridional para manifestar el camino que conduce desde Valparaiso á Buenos Ayres, construida por las observaciones astronomicas que hicieron en estas

partes en 1794 Don José de Espinosa y Don Felipe Bauza, Oficiales de la Real Armada,—en la direccion hidrografica, año 1810.

that the ships which used to visit them direct from Europe for the most part ran into the river Plate, rather than encounter the increased risk of capture in the longer voyage round Cape Horn; and it became therefore to them an object of considerable importance to shorten, if possible, the overland journey from thence to the opposite side of the continent, and particularly to the southern parts of Chile.

This led to explorations being set on foot by the public authorities, in the years 1803, 1804, and 1805, the result of which was the discovery of several new passes over the Cordillera, south of Mendoza, one of which, the pass de las Damas, was examined by the same M. de Souillac already spoken of, who reported that at a very small expense it might be made practicable for the passage of wheel-carriages. It only remained to be shown whether or not it was possible to travel in a direct line across the Pampas from any of those passes to Buenos Ayres.

In this state of things, Don Luis de la Cruz, an enterprising officer who had seen much of the Indians, offered to start from Antuco, in the province of Concepcion, the most southern of the passes yet known, to endeavour to reach Buenos Ayres by a straight course across the Pampas. This proposal was accepted by the Governor of Chile, and in order to secure as far as possible the co-operation of the native tribes, which indeed was absolutely necessary to the success of the undertaking, the Caciques of the Pehuenches, who inhabited the country on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera, were summoned to hold a grand parlamento, or parley, to consider it. There had been long a friendly intercourse between them and the Spaniards, who, moreover, had at times afforded them protection from the attacks of their enemies; they therefore did not hesitate on this occasion to intimate to them that they expected in return all the good offices and aid which they could give to Cruz and his party.

They attended at the time appointed, and after a grave discussion in their fashion, which lasted several days, they agreed to take the expedition under their particular protection, and see it safe to Buenos Ayres; Cruz, on his

part, engaging that the Indians who accompanied him should be presented to the Viceroy, rewarded with suitable presents, and sent back in safety to their friends at the conclusion of the service.

Whilst the expedition was preparing, Cruz spent a couple of days in an unsuccessful attempt to get to the summit of the volcano in the vicinity of Antuco,* which he describes as being then in continual action, and at times burning so strongly as to be visible from a very considerable distance: but he was stopped, and obliged to turn back, by a heavy fall of rain and snow, considered by the Indians as an interposition of the Deity to prevent the examination of a region which they held it to be forbidden to mortals to approach.

On the 7th of April (1806), all being ready, the party left the fort of Ballenar, near Antuco, to commence their journey. It consisted of twenty persons, viz., Cruz and four officers, a surveyor to measure the daily distances, and fifteen attendants, besides their Indian escort; having with them carts and horses and all things they might want on the way. Striking across the Pampas in as direct a course for Buenos Ayres as the nature of the country would permit, in forty-seven days they arrived at Melinqué,† the north-western frontier fort of that province, having travelled, according to their measured daily journeys, rather more than 166 leagues;—adding 68 more for the distance between Melinqué and Buenos Ayres, made the total distance from Antuco to that city, by this route, 234 leagues;—being 75 less than the ordinary post-road from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza.

The narrative which Cruz subsequently drew up of this expedition is extremely diffuse, and would be tiresome to most readers from the minuteness with which he has thought it necessary to detail the daily discussions and parleys which, upon every trivial occurrence, took place with the Indians.

* A very particular description of this volcano, with several views of it, will be found in the 14th volume of the 'Annales des Mines,' given by M. Domeyko, who ascended it in 1845.

† Position of Melinqué fixed by Azara, lat. $33^{\circ} 42' 24''$, long. from Buenos Ayres $3^{\circ} 30' 38''$.

In a geographical point of view, the most interesting part of it is that in which he describes the rivers which he crossed after descending the Cordillera; from which I have attempted in the map to give an idea of them, differing, as will be seen, from that hitherto adopted. In this I have been also much guided by the observations, in my possession, of the late Dr. Gillies, my correspondent for many years at Mendoza, who had himself been as far south as the river Diamante, and had taken great pains to collect information respecting the geography of that part of the country.

The old notion was, that nearly all the rivers south of Mendoza uniting in one wide stream, to which the Diamante, as one of the principal affluents, gave its name, ran direct south into the Rio Negro; and this, as I have mentioned in the preceding chapter, was Villarino's idea, and led him, without hesitation, to believe that the great river, whose mouth he explored, and which, he says, he does not doubt would have led him to Mendoza, was the Diamante.

From a careful examination of Cruz's journal, and other data in my possession, it is manifest that this was an error, and that the great river which flows into the Negro is the Neuquen, which Cruz crossed on the sixth day after he left Antuco, at the place called Butacura, and about eighteen leagues on his journey. The Neuquen* is formed by many streams from that part of the Cordillera, all which Cruz names, and the principal of which appear to be the Rinqui-leubú, which descends from the mountain of Pichachen, and further north the Cudi-leubú, the drain of many small rivers. No one, he says, doubts that the Neuquen, from the junction of the Cudi-leubú, is navigable as far as the Rio Negro, and thence to the ocean.

Proceeding in a north-easterly direction, Cruz fell in with another considerable river, as large, he says, as the Neuquen, called by the Indians the Cobu-leubú,† whose

* *Neuquen* or *Nehuen* signifies the rapid river, according to Angelis.

† Although in the copy of Cruz's MS. in my possession, as well as in Señor de Angelis's collection, the name of this river is written *Cobu-leubú*, I suspect it to be an erroneous writing for *Colu-*

leubú, which signifies the great river; the rather, as I find that people who have journeyed south from Mendoza speak of it (at least of what I suppose to be the upper part of the same river) as the *Rio Grande*.

sources they reported to be in the Cordillera of Curriliquin, over against the province of Maule, in Chile; and they spoke of seven rivers which fell into it in its course from the north to the place where the expedition crossed it. Cruz says distinctly *it does not fall into the Neuquen*, but, changing its southerly course about where they passed it, it ran eastward, in which direction the travellers kept it in view, at times coasting it, for several days, till at a place called Puelec it again turned towards the south, taking thence, as the Indians affirmed, its course to the sea. This river, there can be no doubt, is the Colorado, which falls into the sea a little to the north of the Rio Negro.

The lower ranges of the Cordillera were found to extend about ten leagues beyond the pass of the Cobuleubú, above spoken of, after which the Pampas commence, which continue unbroken to Buenos Ayres.

Two days after passing Puelec, whence the river Cobuleubú takes a southerly course, and having gone about seventy-four leagues by their daily computation from Antuco, the travellers reached the river called by the Indians *Chadi-leubú*, or the *Salt River* (probably a continuation of the Atuel), which, uniting with the Desaguadero, or Drain of the Diamante, about five leagues below where they crossed it, discharges itself into a vast lake about ten leagues further south, called by the Indians the *Urré-lauquen*, or the bitter lake.

In old times, according to Dr. Gillies, the Diamante, which he says rises from the eastern base of Cauquenes Peak in the Cordillera, fell into the Atuel a little below Fort San Rafael, where it will be seen on reference to the map that the two rivers very nearly approximate; but some years ago it took another course, forming for itself a separate channel, by which it discharges itself into the Desaguadero, which carries to the south the waters of the rivers Tunuyan and Mendoza, and is finally lost with the Chadi-leubú in the great salt lake above mentioned.*

* The track laid down on the map from Fort San Rafael, along the northern bank of the Diamante, to its junction with the

Desaguadero, and thence southward into the Indian territory, was fixed by compass, and given me by Dr. Gillies.

The Chadi-leubú, according to Cruz, was one of the most considerable of the rivers he had yet passed. The people and horses crossed it swimming, and the baggage was carried over in a balsa, a sort of hide-raft. It formed the boundary of the lands of the Pehuenches, and many were the debates which ensued amongst Cruz's Indian companions as to the probable view which the tribes in the Pampas beyond would take of the expedition.

One day it was somebody's dream, another, the augury of one of their wizards or diviners, that excited their doubts and alarms, and made them hesitate as to the propriety or not of going on with the Spaniards. They, however, made a notable discovery, which was no other than that Cruz held constant communication with a spirit which directed him in all his proceedings:—he was observed continually to refer to it, and the spirit, which was his watch, was heard to give out certain mysterious sounds whenever consulted. Cruz had no desire to deceive them, but the impression was not to be got rid of, and it was so far of use that it inspired them with fresh courage to go on.

It was determined, after much consultation, to send forward an embassy to the Caciques of the Ranqueles tribes, who lived in the Pampas beyond, and especially to Carripilum, the most influential amongst them, to announce the approach of the expedition, and its peaceable objects, and to endeavour to propitiate them beforehand in its favour. Fortunately, Carripilum was in good humour, and, in the belief that he should get presents in proportion to the importance of the expedition, not only received them with honour, but resolved to accompany them himself to Buenos Ayres, where Cruz assured him the Viceroy would welcome his arrival, and be glad to enter into treaties with him for opening a new road through his territories for the Spaniards trading between Buenos Ayres and Chile.

In twenty-nine days after passing the Chadi-leubú, and in forty-seven after their departure from Antuco, the travellers arrived at the fort of Melinqué, on the north-west frontier of the province of Buenos Ayres; where, whilst halting to refresh themselves, and to allow the

Indians to celebrate their safe arrival, according to their custom, in beastly drunkenness, some straggling soldiers, flying from the rout, brought in the disastrous intelligence of the landing of the British troops under General Beresford, and the fall of Buenos Ayres.

The dismay of poor Cruz at this unexpected intelligence may be easily imagined. Encumbered with a numerous party of Indians who had accompanied him across the continent, far from their homes, in the expectation of the rich presents they were to have upon their arrival at Buenos Ayres, and relying upon promises which it was now totally out of his power to fulfil, he was in the greatest embarrassment.

To proceed was out of the question ; and as to going to Cordova, whither it was reported the Viceroy had fled, it was evident that at such a time matters of much more pressing importance would prevent his attending to the objects of the expedition. His resources too were utterly exhausted. The Indians, however, who soon heard reports of what had happened, evinced a degree of good feeling which could hardly have been expected from them under the sore disappointment of their own expectations. Having heard from Cruz a confirmation of the bad news, and seeing that it was impossible for him to fulfil his engagements towards them, they announced their resolution to relieve him from any difficulty on their account by returning at once. All they desired was, that he would duly report to the Viceroy that they had faithfully, and as far as they could, fulfilled their engagements, so that they might claim their due reward in better times. The Pehuenches did not part without much lamentation from their Christian friends, and they repeated again and again their readiness to obey any orders the Viceroy might be pleased to send them. Carripilum made the same protestations, and left one of his relations to proceed with Cruz in search of the Viceroy, expressly to make an offer of any aid which the Spaniards might desire from the Indians against the common enemy.

Cruz found the Viceroy at Cordova, who received him with kindness, and paid every attention to the Cacique

who accompanied him. He was equipped in a new suit of Spanish clothes, and after a time dismissed with presents and every demonstration of the high estimation in which the Viceroy held the services of Carripilum and his companions.

Don Luis himself, upon the recovery of Buenos Ayres, repaired thither, and drew up the diary of his interesting journey, with a plan and estimate for making the track he had passed by perfectly practicable for carriages the whole way, and which he calculated might be done for an outlay of about 46,000 Spanish dollars; but Cruz's papers, like those of Villarino and Viedma, and others of the same nature, were only honoured by being deposited in safety in the secret archives. The various important political events which shortly afterwards began and rapidly succeeded each other were, however, perhaps some excuse for its remaining unnoticed.

In describing the eastern parts of the Cordillera, Cruz says, that at the time he was there, only the volcanoes of Antuco and Villarica were in activity, though the traces of others extinct might be seen in every direction:—the evidences of their ancient eruptions, he says, might be followed for thirty leagues continuously:—he speaks, amongst other volcanic appearances, of hot springs resorted to by the Indians for their medicinal qualities, and says so abundant is the sulphur in all those parts, that several rivers are strongly impregnated with it; vast quantities also of bituminous substances are everywhere to be seen, and beyond the Neuquen, he says, there is an abundance of coal. On the opposite side of the Cordillera, at Talcahuano, in about the same latitude, coal has long been known to exist, and has been occasionally used by the foreign vessels trading with that part of Chile. If it really exist at the sources of the Neuquen, which Cruz says is navigable to the sea, it is impossible to calculate on the extent of its future influence upon the prosperity of the neighbouring provinces whenever the people shall open their eyes to the powers of steam navigation. As yet, it would appear as if the people of Mendoza and San Luis had as little idea of the use even of a canoe as the Indians

themselves, otherwise it seems hardly credible that the Spaniards should never have made the slightest attempt to send a boat down any one of these rivers. Near the sources of the Neuquen are mines of rock-salt: in the level lands, also, between that river and the Chadi-leubú, salt may at all times be collected from the surface of the ground, and the intermediate streams are all more or less brackish from its influence.

Fossil marine remains appear to abound amongst the lower ranges of the Cordillera which Cruz passed, not only strewed over the surface at considerable elevations, but deeply imbedded in the soil, as might be seen wherever sections were laid open by the courses of the mountain-torrents.

In addition to his description of their country, Cruz has given in his journal some account of the manners and customs of the Pehuenches:* those Indians, who take their name from the abundance of pine-trees in the lands they occupy, derive their origin from the Araucanian race inhabiting the southern parts of Chile; as indeed do all the wandering tribes found in the Pampas from the frontiers of Mendoza and Cordova to the Rio Negro in the south:—they all speak a common language, and, if their customs in any degree vary, it will only be found to arise from the greater or less distance they are removed from their original stock, or as they are brought into occasional contact with their Christian neighbours. Divided and subdivided into innumerable petty tribes, or rather family groups, they wander from place to place in quest of pasturage for the sheep and cattle, which constitute their sole possessions; continually quarrelling and fighting with each other, and rarely united by any common object save to make some occasional plundering expedition against the defenceless properties of the Spaniards on the frontiers. Such at least are the habits of those generally known as the Aucazes and Ranqueles tribes; but of them I shall speak more particularly in the next chapter.

The Pehuenches, whose customs Cruz describes, appear to be a somewhat better race. They are not so far re-

* Pehuen, a pine-tree.

moved from their original stock in Araucania; and their vicinity to the Spaniards of Chile, and friendly intercourse with them, have had a manifest influence in modifying their original habits.

In person they are described as fine men, stouter and taller than the inhabitants of the plains; but like all the Indians of the same stock, in the habit of frightfully bedaubing and disfiguring their faces with paint. They wear a sort of cloak over the neck and shoulders, with another square cloth fastened round the loins, and those who can get them, little conical hats bought from the Spaniards, and the same sort of boots as are made by the gauchos of Buenos Ayres from the dried skin of a horse's leg fitted to the foot. The bridles of their horses are beautifully plaited, and often ornamented with silver: spurs of the same material are in great request amongst them, and are eagerly purchased of the Spaniards.

The women as well as the men paint themselves: *their* chief ornaments consist of as many gold or silver rings as they can collect upon the fingers, and large ear-rings, resembling both in size and shape a common English brass padlock.

Their habitations consist of tents made of hides sewn together, which are easily set up and moved from place to place. Their principal food is the flesh of mares and colts, which they prefer to any other; if they add anything in the shape of cakes or bread, it is made from maize and corn obtained from the Spaniards in exchange for salt and cattle, and blankets of the manufacture of their women, for it is rarely they remain long enough in the same place to sow and reap themselves.

Their Caciques or Ulmenes, as they call them, are generally chosen either for their superior valour or wisdom in speech—occasionally, but not always, the honour descends from father to son: they have but little authority in the tribe, except in time of war, when all submit implicitly to their direction.

They are not, however, entirely without laws and punishments for certain crimes, such as murder, adultery, theft, and witchcraft. Thus he who kills another is con-

demned to be put to death by the relations of the deceased, or to pay them a suitable compensation. The woman taken in adultery is also punishable with death by her husband, unless her relations can otherwise satisfy him. The thief is obliged to pay for what he is convicted of stealing; and, if he has not the means, his relations must pay for him. As to those accused of witchcraft, they are sacrificed with very little ceremony; and such executions are of frequent occurrence, inasmuch as a man rarely dies a natural death but it is ascribed to the machinations of some one in communication with the evil spirit. The relatives of the deceased, in their lamentations, generally denounce some personal enemy as having brought about his end, and little more is necessary to ensure his condemnation by the whole tribe.

As to their religion, though they have no form of worship, they believe in a supreme creator and ruler of all things; also in the influence of an evil spirit, to whom they attribute any ill that befalls them. When the body perishes they believe that the soul becomes immortal, and flies to a place beyond the seas, where there is an abundance of all things, and where husbands and wives meet, and live in happiness.

On the occasion of their funerals, that they may want for nothing in the other world to which they have been used in this, their clothing and accoutrements and arms are buried with them; sometimes a stock of provisions is added; and when a Cacique is buried, his horses are also slain and stuffed with straw, and set upright over his grave. The interment is conducted with more or less ceremony, according to the rank of the deceased: if he be a man of weight amongst them, not only his relations, but all the principal persons of the tribe, assemble and hold a great drinking-bout over his grave, at which the more drink the more honour.

They have great faith in dreams, especially in those of their ancients and Caciques, to whom they believe they are sent as revelations for the guidance of the tribe on important occasions; and they seldom undertake any affair, either of personal or general importance, without

much consultation with their diviners and old women as to the omens which may have been observed.

Marriage is an expensive ceremony to the bridegroom, who is obliged to make rich presents, sometimes all he is worth, to the parents of his love, before he obtains their consent. Thus daughters are a source of sure wealth to their parents, whilst those who have only sons are often ruined by the assistance which is required from them on these occasions. Such as can afford it take more wives than one, but the first has always precedence in the household arrangements, and so on in succession.

When a child is born it is taken with the mother immediately to the nearest stream, in which after both are bathed, the mother returns to her household duties, and takes part in preparing for the feast that follows.

In almost all these habits the Pehuenches appear to follow the Araucanians, from whom they no doubt derive their origin.

The mother of one of my servants lived seven years amongst these savages, and confirmed Cruz's account on all the points I have here stated. In general, she said, she was as kindly treated by them as was possible under the circumstances: she had been taken by the Pampas Indians, and by them sold to the Pehuenches, that she might have less chance of escaping and ever reaching her own home again. Men, women, and children, she said, lived much more on horseback than on foot.

I have seen some of these Indians who, from being so constantly on horseback, had become bow-legged to such an extent of deformity that the soles of their feet were turned inwards, so as to make walking no easy matter to them, their gait being more like the waddling of ducks than the walk of human beings.

One of the most ludicrous scenes I think I ever witnessed was on the reception of some Caciques at the Government House, who had been brought to Buenos Ayres with their families to pay their respects to their "great father," as they called General Rosas. To reach the public room in which they were to be received it was requisite to ascend a great staircase; but this led to a

difficulty quite unforeseen, inasmuch as it had not occurred to any one till they got there that the Indians had never seen a flight of stairs in their lives. When they looked up them, their air of stupid dismay was something beyond description. The officers in attendance did their best to encourage and assist them, but it was of no avail. After a variety of fruitless attempts, which caused no little merriment to the spectators, though evidently great mortification to the poor Indians, it was found quite impossible to get them up like other people, and they were carried up in chairs. To descend appeared to them a still more fearful undertaking, and it became necessary to bandage their eyes before they would consent to be carried down again in the same manner.

I took the same party, a few days afterwards, on board one of H.M. ships of war, with General Rosas, who had been invited by the Commander to visit him. This was a harder trial than the staircase; none of them had ever been in a boat, and their alarm was so great when they found the dry land gradually receding from them, that but for Rosas' being in the same boat with them, I believe they would have all jumped overboard to make for the shore. When, however, we were once on the ship's deck, and the great guns began to fire the customary salute for the Governor, I thought they would have died of fright. They fell down as if they had been shot; nor was it an easy matter to reassure them and satisfy them that they and the Governor were not in peril of their lives from their new acquaintances.

What afterwards very mainly contributed to restore them to good humour was the sight of the sailors at dinner, and the circumstance of their espying by chance one with a sun or moon tattooed upon his skin, which produced great delight amongst them. They huddled round to examine him with all the curiosity of children, and when they found others amongst the men similarly marked, they broke out in boisterous shouts, insisting upon drinking with them, calling them brothers, and evidently looking upon them as co-religionists and half Indians. The effect of the grog soon told; they became very uproarious

and troublesome, and would have got very drunk if we had not interfered to prevent it. They were the biggest babies I ever saw, and the ugliest.

There is a grammar of the language of these Indians in Falkner's book, and a MS. vocabulary amongst Malaspina's papers in the British Museum, the study of which might help to make us better acquainted with their country as well as the people themselves, for their nomenclature of places as well as of persons is rarely insignificant. I have already stated that the Pehuénches derive their name from *pehuen*, the pine-tree, which abounds on the slopes of the Cordillera where they dwell. The *Ranqueles* are so called from *ranquel*, the thistle, which covers the plains which they inhabit. The *Picunches* take their name from *picun*, the *north*. The *Puelches* signify the people to the east, and the *Huilliches* those to the west: *che* means people.

The following will serve as examples of some of the appellations of their Caciques:—*Culucalquin*, the Eagle; *Maripil*, the Viper; *Ancapichui*, the Partridge; *Quilquil*, the Little Bird; *Guaiquiente*, the Sun; *Cari-mangue*, the Condor; *Antu-mangue*, the Ostrich; *Pichi-mangue*, the Vulture; *Paine-mangue*, the Old Condor; *Llampico*, the Black; *Lincon*, the Locust; *Cadupani*, the Black Lion; *Alcaluan*, the Guanaco; *Naguel*, the Tiger.



(Indian on Horseback.)

CHAPTER XIII.

Progress of Inland Discovery since the Independence of Buenos Ayres — Annual Expeditions, to the Salt Lakes in the South — Colonel Garcia, in command of one in 1810, reconnoitres the Country south of the Salado, and fixes the latitudes of several points — Treachery and Habits of the Pampas Indians — The Great Salt Lake — An attempt, in 1822, to treat with the Indians for the purchase of their lands, and for the release of Christian women in captivity amongst them, totally fails.

HAVING given some account of the explorations of the Old Spaniards south of Buenos Ayres, I shall now proceed to state what has been done by their successors since their independence. It is hardly credible how ignorant, up to a very recent period, were even the higher classes of the people of Buenos Ayres respecting the Indian territories which immediately bounded their own lands to the southward.

It is only by a study of the history of their frontiers, and of the steps taken from time to time to advance them, that any notion whatever of the physical features of that part of the continent can be obtained. This, however, is worth the trouble, as it furnishes some authentic data for laying down a considerable portion of country hitherto most imperfectly and erroneously described in all existing maps.

One of the first attempts made by the Buenos Ayreans to acquire any accurate information respecting the country to the south of the Salado appears to have been in 1810, on the occasion of one of the periodical expeditions to the great salt lakes in the south. Those expeditions formed a singular exception to the ordinary supineness and indisposition of the Spaniards to cross their own frontiers. They consisted of large convoys of waggons despatched under direction of the municipal authorities to collect salt for

the yearly supply of the city, escorted by a military force. The Indians had become habituated to them; and instead of regarding them with jealousy, in general rather looked forward with eagerness for the annual tribute in the shape of presents which the Spaniards were ready to pay them for an unmolested passage across their territories. They even lent the people their assistance at the salt-lakes to load their waggons in exchange for beads and baubles from Buenos Ayres.

The Viceroy occasionally attached some pieces of artillery to the troops, and availed himself of the opportunity to make a salutary display amongst the savages of the military discipline and power of the Spanish soldiers, which no doubt had its due effect; but no one thought of turning these expeditions to any further account:—they never departed from the same direct and beaten track across the Pampas, and not the slightest pains were taken to collect any further information respecting the country beyond, at least in the time of the Old Spanish rule.

The members of the New Government, set up in 1810, were animated by a different spirit: they foresaw with the dawn of their new destinies the prospect of their becoming a commercial people, and the consequent necessity of giving such encouragement to the extension of their pastoral establishments as would tend to the multiplication of the staple commodities of the country. The extension of their frontiers, and their due protection by military posts, were consequently among the first objects of their attention; and when the annual expedition to the Salinas was about to set out, they took care to select an officer for the command of it qualified to reconnoitre the country and to collect such information as might assist them in determining upon their future plans for an extension of their territorial jurisdiction.

Colonel Garcia, the officer in question, had previously seen much of the Indians on the coast of Patagonia, and was on many accounts eminently qualified for the task committed to him. From the diary of his expedition, which is in my possession, it appears that the caravan or convoy placed under his charge on this occasion, consisted of

234 carts, with 2927 bullocks and 520 horses attached to them, with 407 people including soldiers, who were furnished with two field-pieces. Nor was this considered a large party, compared with former expeditions with the same object; indeed Garcia soon found to his cost that his force was hardly sufficient to secure him common respect from some of the many Indian Caciques, who, from the time of his leaving the frontier fort of Cruz de Guerra to his arrival at the Salinas, successively besieged him with their importunities for presents, especially of tobacco and spirits, and kept him in continual alarm lest they should attempt to carry off by force what they could not obtain by other means.

Each called himself master of the lands they were journeying through, and expected corresponding presents to purchase his permission to pass forward. Nor was this the worst: it appeared that something had given rise amongst the Indians to a suspicion of the ulterior objects of the Buenos Ayreans; and, under an impression that they projected a forcible settlement in their lands, the Ranqueles tribes from the plains south of San Luis and Cordova, under their principal Cacique Carripilum (the same spoken of in the foregoing chapter), had collected their forces with the secret determination to endeavour to cut off the whole party. Fortunately the fidelity of some of the Puelches, or Eastern tribes, who are continually at variance with the Ranqueles, enabled Garcia to discover and disconcert their hostile plans, and finally, though with considerable difficulty and danger, to accomplish his object, and return with his convoy of salt-carts in safety to Buenos Ayres.

Amongst the results of this expedition was the determination by observation of seventeen points along the line of road from the Guardia de Luxan, in lat. $34^{\circ} 39'$, long. west of Buenos Ayres $1^{\circ} 2'$, to the Great Salt Lake in lat. $37^{\circ} 13'$, long. west of Buenos Ayres $4^{\circ} 51'$;^{*} the

^{*} The latitude of the Great Salt Lake was taken from about the centre of the north side of it, where the party were encamped.

In 1786 Don Pablo Zizur, a lieutenant in the Spanish navy, had fixed the north-

east angle of the lake in lat. $37^{\circ} 10'$, and $4^{\circ} 36'$ west of the meridian of Luxan (Guardia). According to him, the lake of Cabeza del Buey is in lat. $36^{\circ} 8'$, and the Guardia de Luxan in $34^{\circ} 36'$. Azara fixed it in $34^{\circ} 38' 36''$.

whole distance travelled being 97 leagues from Luxan, or 121 from Buenos Ayres. The journey out occupied 23 days, and the return 25; altogether the party was absent just two months, viz., from the 21st of October to the 21st of December.

The features which seem most worthy of remark along the road are the numerous lakes, which appear to be the collections of the streams from the western ramifications of the Sierra Ventana; the most considerable of which is the Laguna del Monte, in lat. $36^{\circ} 53'$, long. from Buenos Ayres $3^{\circ} 57'$: its name, the Lake of the Wood, is taken from a large island upon it covered with trees; it is formed by the river Guamini, and other streams from the mountain group so called; its width was estimated to be three or four leagues, and in the rainy season it forms one with the lakes of Paraguayos, extending more than seven leagues to the south-west.

Although the Laguna del Monte was salt, the waters of some of the smaller lakes in its immediate vicinity were found to be perfectly sweet. The same observation was made at the Salinas; the sweetest water was to be had close to the Great Salt Lake.

Shortly before reaching the lake of Paraguayos, the Sierra de la Ventana and its ramification, the Guamini, were particularly observed: the Sierra Guamini bearing south 15° east, and the Ventana south-east a quarter east. There they were met by several of the best disposed of the caciques and their followers, who supplied them with cattle in exchange for the articles they had with them. They accompanied them to the Salinas, which they reached two days afterwards; and to them they owed their protection from the hostile Ranqueles and Carripilum, whose treachery they discovered and exposed.

Speaking of the character of these Indians, who are probably of the same race originally as the Querandis, who attacked the Spaniards on their first landing at Buenos Ayres, Garcia says they are as remarkable for their cowardice as for their ferocity: their warfare is a system of continual deceit and treachery, and their stolen victories are always signalized by savage cruelties. Nothing could

exceed their submissive obsequiousness to the Spaniards from the moment they knew they had an intimation of their hostile intentions, and were upon their guard against them.

The prevailing vice amongst them all, even the best of them, is drunkenness. The caciques set the example upon every occasion; and it is seldom that their orgies end without the loss of lives, for in their cups they are always quarrelsome:—then the slightest offence is remembered, and they draw their knives, wounding and killing one another, and falling upon all, even their nearest relations, who would attempt to restrain them. Of all the Indians the Ranqueles, he says, are the worst—they may be called the bush-rangers of the Pampas; if they cannot rob the Spaniards, they will make war upon the other tribes, to carry off their horses and cattle.

The Puelches, on the contrary, or eastern people, at that time settled about the Salinas and the mountains towards the coast, were found to be more peaceably disposed: they were the possessors of large herds and flocks of their own, and the manufacturers of many articles in demand amongst the Spaniards, such as ponchos, skin-cloaks, bridles, and feather-brooms, which they used to sell to them at Buenos Ayres and on the frontiers.

The extent of the Great Salt Lake is not given, and Garcia says it was impossible to ride round it, from the thick woods which lined its banks; but, from an eminence a little to the south, he got a general view of it, as well as of the country for a considerable distance. Looking towards the south, as far as he could see, was one immense level plain covered with pasturage: to the eastward, in the distance, some woods were visible, which he was told extended to the hilly ranges of Guamini and La Ventana.

On the opposite side, to the westward of the lake, was a vast forest of chañar, algaroba, and an infinite variety of other trees, which the Indians told him extended with little interruption for three days' journey in that direction; and they added the singular circumstance that, about a day and a half off in the midst of it, upon a hilly range of some extent, were to be seen the ruins of the brick

buildings of some former inhabitants (*antigua poblacion*), though, as to who they might have been, or when they ceased to exist, they had not the smallest notion, neither had they any tradition which could throw light upon it. The fruit-trees, they said, which had been planted there had multiplied exceedingly, so that it was a great resort of the Indians, in their journeys across the Pampas, to gather figs, peaches, walnuts, apples, and other fruits, of which there was an abundance for all that went there. Wild cattle also, they said, were in the surrounding forest, but they were not so accessible, and were difficult to follow up through the woods.

Colonel Garcia hazards no conjecture as to who could have been the settlers in this secluded and remote spot, nor has any one else obtained since any further account of them. The age of the trees might perhaps throw some light upon the date of the buildings: the names of those mentioned seem to indicate that they must have been of European introduction, and consequently that those who planted them must have done so subsequently to the discovery of that part of the world by the Spaniards. Nothing, I was told, existed at Buenos Ayres which could throw any light whatever upon the subject.

Had the practice continued of carrying on these expeditions, it is probable that the Buenos Ayreans would have become better acquainted with the southern part of the Pampas; but, upon the opening of an unrestricted trade, the importation of salt from the Cape de Verd Islands and other countries rendered it unnecessary for the government to put itself to any expense about them; and, as individuals without the protection of the troops would not run the risk of encountering the Indians, the Salinas ceased to be resorted to, and the people of Buenos Ayres became reconciled to purchasing of foreigners an article of which they have an inexhaustible supply within their own territory.

It was proposed to the government to form a military settlement at the Salinas, to be the central point of a line of frontier to be drawn from the river Colorado across the Pampas to Fort San Rafael on the river Diamante, south of

Mendoza, which Garcia conceived would effectually check the depredations of the Ranqueles and their thievish associates, whilst the more friendly and well-disposed Puelches Indians to the south, he was tolerably assured, would at that period have been glad to have been brought under the immediate protection of the government of Buenos Ayres.

But this plan embraced more than could be done at once by the rulers of Buenos Ayres ; and partly, perhaps, on that account, and partly because all their disposable forces and means were shortly afterwards required to carry on the struggle for their independence, it was, with various other projects, laid aside, and many years elapsed ere any further step was taken.

Nevertheless the results of their new political condition developed themselves, as was anticipated, and the increase of their trade led to the extension of their pastoral establishments. Although the government took no measures for their protection, the people of the country began to occupy the lands to the south of the Salado, which soon brought them into contact and collision with the Indians, who, on their part, looked with a very natural jealousy upon settlements planted without their concurrence on lands which from time immemorial they had been accustomed to consider as exclusively their own. The more peaceable tribes retired to the fastnesses in the mountains to the south, but the Ranqueles and other migratory hordes retaliated by carrying off the cattle and plundering those who had thus intruded themselves within their territories.

In these marauding expeditions they were often joined by some of the vagabond gauchos, deserters from the army, and such wretches flying from the pursuit of justice as, in times of civil commotion especially, are to be found in all countries. By those unprincipled associates they were taught to look with less dread upon the fire-arms of the Buenos Ayrean militia, and even to use them, whenever, either by the murder or robbery of some defenceless estanciero, they fell into their hands. During the unhappy civil dissensions also which broke out between Buenos

Ayres and the Provinces, some of the unprincipled leaders of the reckless factions which divided the Republic sought alliances with the Indians,* the fatal consequences of which they only too late discovered. Like bloodhounds, it was impossible to restrain them. When once the weakest points were shown them, they burst in upon the frontier villages, murdering in cold blood the defenceless and unprepared inhabitants, and carrying off the women and children into a slavery of the most horrible description.

It was manifest that the impunity with which these outrages were committed arose mainly from the total absence of any protection on the part of the government for those settlers who had advanced their estancias beyond the old forts within the line of the Salado, and the public voice called loudly for some prompt remedies for the evil, the most efficacious of which appeared to be the adoption of some one of the many plans from time to time proposed for a new line of military posts to cover the rural population south of that river. The hilly ranges of the Vuulcan, especially, seemed to present a natural frontier which it appeared only necessary to occupy to secure the object; but the information respecting all those parts was still so exceedingly imperfect, that it was obviously necessary, in the first instance, to send out an exploratory expedition to examine them; and this led, in 1822, to Colonel Garcia being again called upon to proceed to the south, with the double object of endeavouring to induce the Indians to enter into an arrangement with the government of Buenos Ayres for a new boundary as the basis of a general pacification, and of acquiring precise information as to the most eligible positions for the establishment of military posts in the hilly ranges in that direction.

The communications he had had twelve years before with the leading Caciques of the tribes inhabiting the country eastward of the Salinas led him vainly to hope that those tribes at least might be brought to acquiesce

* In the life of the *Carreras*, given in the Appendix to Mrs. Graham's work on Chile, there is an account of some of these Indian forays in conjunction with Carrera's troops, particularly of their sur-

prisal of the town of Salto, and the carrying off from thence of 250 women and children, after butchering all the men, in spite of every effort of their unnatural allies to prevent it.

peaceably in the views of the government, and, provided they were left in possession of the lands they occupied in the vicinity of the Sierra Ventana, that they would not oppose the occupation by the Buenos Ayreans of the more northern line of the Vuulcan and Tandil; but Garcia was not aware of the great change which had taken place in the feelings and policy of the Indians, from a variety of circumstances, since his journey to the Salinas in 1810.

The messengers, however, sent forward to announce his mission were well received, and a respectable deputation, headed by Antiguan, one of their principal chiefs, was sent forward to meet and to conduct the ambassador and his suite to their toldos at the foot of the Sierra Ventana, where the Caciques of the Puelches proposed the negotiations should be opened, promising to invite thither at the same time representatives from all the tribes of the Pampas, not excepting the Ranqueles, and the Huilliches or inhabitants of the lands as far south as the rivers Colorado and Negro.

Under this escort, and accompanied by Colonel Reyes, an engineer officer, and about thirty persons, soldiers and peons, Colonel Garcia set out from the fort of Lobos, in the province of Buenos Ayres, for the Indian territory on the 10th of April, 1822. On the 12th they crossed the Salado at a place where its depth allowed of the safe passage of carts, and where its width was not above thirty or forty feet; this was some way above the junction of the Flores, after which it becomes a river of more consequence, its breadth extending to 300 yards in the winter season, when it is impassable except in canoes. The next day they crossed the Saladillo at the pass of Las Toscas, a stream which falls into the Salado a little above the river Flores, towards which they proceeded through a country much intersected by swamps, which obliged them to deviate continually from their direct course.

When near the Lake de las Polvaderas, Colonel Reyes, being desirous to take an observation, produced his sextant, which led to an unexpected but serious manifestation of alarm and suspicion on the part of the Indians. Some foolish person, it appeared, when they were setting out

had told them that the commissioners had with them instruments through which they could see all the world at once; and nothing would satisfy them, when they saw them brought out, that the Spaniards were not in direct consultation with the gualichù, or devil himself. It was impossible to do away with this notion of theirs, which led to the inconvenience of obliging the officers afterwards to take their observations by the stars at night instead of by the sun in the day-time.

About two leagues beyond where they crossed the Flores they verified its junction with the Tapalquen in a vast marsh. The Flores is in fact but the drain of the waters of that river; it was found to be more brackish than even the Salado. In the thick jungles along its banks many jaguars were seen, which, however, excited little apprehension compared with the horseflies and mosquitos, from whose venomous attacks there was no escape. They followed the Tapalquen till they came in sight of the Sierra, distant ten or twelve leagues, the Amarilla Hills bearing south-south-east, and those of Curaco south-south-west; between these two groups runs one of the passes frequented by the Indians in their journeys to the Ventana, where the travellers halted, and in the night, whilst their Indian guides were asleep, by an observation of Mars, determined the latitude to be $36^{\circ} 45' 10''$; the longitude they fixed at $54^{\circ} 13'$ from Cadiz; variation $17^{\circ} 10'$.

The following morning, making a pretext for lagging behind out of sight of their Indian friends, they reconnoitred the pass, and fixed the height of some of the hills in its immediate vicinity; the highest point of the Amarilla, or Tinta group, called Lima-huida, south-east of the pass, did not exceed 200 feet, and the two peaks of Curaco, which they had seen at a distance the day before, measured, the one 270, and the other about 200 feet. A small guard-house or fort seemed all that was necessary effectually to close this pass against the Indians.

To the south of this part of the chain, the country is a succession of hills and dales, watered by many streams

from the Sierra, and apparently well adapted for agricultural settlements. Taking a course about south-south-west, on the third day after leaving the pass of Curaco they came in sight of the second range of mountains, called the Sierra de la Ventana, and arrived at the toldos of Antiguan their conductor, whose people, apprized of their approach, came out in great numbers, men, women, and children, to receive them.

Antiguan lost no time in despatching messengers in every direction to summon the general meeting of the Caciques, whilst Colonel Garcia encamped with his little party on the borders of a lake, where it was determined that the grand parlamento, or parley, was to be held. Thither they were attended by a friendly old Cacique, Lincon (the Locust), whom Garcia had known on his former expedition, and to whose advice and assistance they were in the sequel very essentially indebted.

From him they learnt that the chiefs of the Ranqueles were far from peaceably disposed, or inclined to take part in any treaties with the government of Buenos Ayres for their lands; and that there existed generally amongst the Indians much jealousy and distrust of the Spaniards, in consequence of the measures they had of late been taking with respect to them. He warned them, also, not to be surprised at any warlike display which might be made at the approaching meeting, as it was probable the Caciques would avail themselves of the opportunity to show the number of fighting men they could command.

It was fortunate they had some such notice of what they were to expect; for when, two or three days afterwards, the Indians assembled, they certainly made an appearance much more like a general gathering of armed forces for war than of negotiators for peace.

On the day appointed for the general conference, a body of about 200 men made their appearance at an early hour, formed in battle array, and slowly advancing towards the commissioners' tents to the sound of horns (cornetas). On arriving within a short distance, they broke into small parties, uttering loud shouts, and charging over the plain,

making cuts and thrusts in the air right and left with their swords and lances, and then wheeling about and riding round and round their leader, who apparently directed these manœuvres. The principal object of all this, the commissioners were told, was to drive away the *gualichù*, or evil spirit, whose secret presence they apprehended might otherwise maliciously influence the approaching negotiations.

The trappings of some of the horses of these warriors were curiously ornamented with beads, and hung about with little bells. Several of them wore a sort of helmet, and a buff coating of hide, so well prepared as to be perfectly soft and flexible, though several times double; the helmets made of it are so tough as to resist the cut of a sword, and sometimes are bullet-proof.

This was but the advanced guard of a numerous host which afterwards came in view, covering the plain, and making really a very imposing appearance. Altogether there might be something more than 3000 fighting men regularly marshalled under their respective Caciques in nine divisions. Though these Indians belonged to the *soi-disant* friendly tribes, the commissioners could not fail to be struck at once with the quantity of arms and accoutrements amongst them, which were manifestly the spoils of war and of their own countrymen murdered on the frontiers. Their whole demeanour, too, was insolent and arrogant in the extreme, partaking infinitely more of defiance than any real desire for a permanent peace, which caused many misgivings to Garcia and his officers as to the result of their mission.

After a variety of martial manœuvres, on a given signal a great circle was formed, in the midst of which the Ulmenes or principal Caciques, taking their places, commenced the parlamento by a preliminary discussion amongst themselves as to whether or not they should enter into any negotiations whatever with the government of Buenos Ayres without the Ranqueles. On this point there were great differences of opinion, the most sagacious of the speakers shrewdly prognosticating, that unless the peace was to be a general one, it was useless to enter into it, in-

asmuch as, if hostilities continued between the Spaniards and any of the tribes, the rest could hardly fail, sooner or later, to be involved in them. The majority, however, only anxious to share at once the presents which they understood the Spaniards to have brought with them, and of which they probably feared that any co-operation of the Ranqueles tribes would deprive them of a portion, called aloud for an immediate treaty, and the commissioners were conducted, almost by force, to the place of deliberation, where a scene of great confusion took place, every one desirous to speak at once, and calling for the presents. The circle was broken, and, the Indians rushing in upon them, the officers with difficulty extricated themselves from the press.

After a time the authority of the Caciques was restored, and the conference resumed; the sole result of which was, that the majority present insisted upon treating at once with the Buenos Ayreans on their own account, after which they said the commissioners might proceed to negotiate, as they could, separately with the Huilliches and Ranqueles. All this was rather a dictation, on the part of the Indians, than any mutual agreement; but it was evident there was to be no alternative, and the commissioners, putting the best face upon it, proceeded to distribute the greater part of the presents they had brought for the occasion,—the possession of which, it was perfectly clear, was the main, if not the sole object of the savages in entering at all into discussions with them. These Indians all called themselves *Pampas* and *Aucazes*. The latter term, signifying *warriors*, seems to be assumed by all the tribes of Araucanian origin.

In the course of their parleys with them, so far from finding them disposed, as Garcia had flattered himself, to treat for a new and more advanced boundary-line, they vehemently complained of the encroachments already made by the Buenos Ayreans, and insisted upon their withdrawing the establishments already formed to the south of the Salado. Garcia found it useless to argue with them; and, as his personal safety would probably have been endangered by a positive refusal, he thought

it better to temporize, and to promise to lay their representations before the government of Buenos Ayres on his return, contenting himself to stipulate that there should be peace in the mean time.

Having obtained all they could get, the Caciques took their leave, leading off their followers to their respective toldos. The next day they were succeeded by another and distinct party of the Huilliches from the south, who, though summoned to the general conference, had not been able to arrive in time to take part in it. This tribe presented even a more martial appearance than the others, and Colonel Garcia, describing them, says, no regiment of cavalry could have made a more regular or better figure than these strikingly fine men. They were naked from the waist upwards, and wore a sort of helmet surmounted by feathers (a distinguishing feature in the dress of this tribe), which added to their extraordinary stature. Their Cacique Llampilco, or the *black*, was upwards of seven feet high, and many others were equal to him, and even taller.

Most of them were armed with very long lances, and, like the Pampas tribes, had their faces bedaubed with red and black paint; but their language was different, and Garcia says, the same as that of the people of the southern parts of Patagonia, from whose race he imagines them to have sprung, and to the old accounts of whose height he refers. He speaks of them as a superior and finer race of men in every respect than the others; admirable horsemen, and brave in war, without the cruelty of the Pampas tribes. They had come from the lands south of the Ventana, about the rivers Colorado and Negro, where they had located themselves, according to their own account, to avoid collision with the Spaniards, with whom they professed their great desire to establish a solid peace. They spoke with contempt and detestation of the marauding habits of the Pampas tribes and of the Ranqueles, and offered at any time to assist in chastising them. This party consisted of 420 fighting men. They conducted themselves very differently from the others, receiving thankfully whatever was given to them.

After their departure, the commissioners removed to the

lake where the Cacique Lincon's people were located, and which bore his name. Its situation was about five leagues from the mountain range beyond. From this place, looking to the north-west, one boundless plain presented itself to the eye. The Ventana mountain bore south-west, extending its lesser ramifications to the west-south-west, as far as the Curumualà, a small group of hills which may be seen running west to the more elevated range of Guamini, with an extensive plain between them. The highest part of the Guamini bore west 10° north, and was lost in the boundless Pampas beyond.



(View of the Range of La Ventana.)

A stay here for a few days gave them a tolerable insight into the manners and customs of the natives. Nothing could exceed the laziness and brutality, in general, of the men, who, looking upon the women as inferior beings, treated them as the most abject slaves. Not only were they obliged to attend to all the ordinary duties of the family, but upon them also devolved the care of their husbands' horses, and even the tending of the sheep and cattle.

Polygamy was permitted, and, according to his means, it appeared that a man kept more or less wives, which, so far from causing jealousy, seemed generally a source of satisfaction to the ladies themselves, inasmuch as it led to the lightening by subdivision of their domestic labours. Unless engaged in some predatory excursion, or in hunting deer and guanacoës, and other smaller animals, for their skins, the men seemed to pass their whole time in sleeping, drinking, and gambling, the habitual vices of all the tribes:—they are passionately fond of cards, which they obtain from the Spaniards, and will play for ever at dice, which they make themselves ingeniously enough, and, like gamblers in other parts of the world, will stake their all upon a throw, reckless of reducing their families to utter destitution.

In each toldo, or tent, which is made of hides stretched upon canes, and easily removeable from one place to another, five or six families, perhaps twenty or thirty persons in all, were closely huddled together in the most horrible state of filth imaginable; indeed, in many respects, they were but little removed in their habits from the brute creation. If fuel was scarce, as is constantly the case in the Pampas, they cared not to cook their meat, but ate it raw, and always drank the warm blood of every animal they killed:—like beasts of prey, there was no part, even to the contents of the stomach and intestines, which they would not greedily devour.

They were superstitious in the extreme, and the credulous dupes and tools of a few artful men, who direct all their proceedings by pretending to foretell the future, and to divine the cause of every evil. They are the *machis*, or wizards, and there is no tribe without them, and which does not implicitly submit to their decisions and advice. Their word is law, and the Cacique submits to it equally with the rest. The commissioners themselves were nearly made the victims of the malice of some of these wretches, who probably anticipated a share of the plunder, if they could have induced their countrymen to destroy them.

An old Cacique, named Pichiloncoy, living near the toldos of Lincon, and whose life was of great consequence

to his tribe, fell seriously ill, and, according to custom, the machis were assembled to pronounce on the nature of his complaint, and to denounce those whose evil machinations or influence could have reduced him to such a state, for in all such cases some one must be responsible, and, once denounced, his life is seldom spared if the patient dies. In this case the machis unanimously ascribed the old Cacique's illness to the presence of the Christians, who, they declared, had brought the Gualichù, or evil spirit, with them, probably deriving the notion from the report spread by their guides respecting the supernatural powers of the instruments they were known occasionally to consult. If the old man had not fortunately recovered, it might have gone hard with them, for their lives would certainly have been in great peril. As Garcia observes, it would have been a pretty ending of their embassy to have been sacrificed to the manes of old Pichiloncoy by the mad machis.

Notwithstanding the excessive nastiness and filth of their general habits, the women seldom failed to perform their daily ablutions, repairing the first thing in the morning to the neighbouring lake to bathe with their children, although the cold was so intense that the snow nightly beat through their tents during the whole time the commissioners were there.

Amongst these females were some Christian girls, captives, whose fairer skin was but too strong evidence of their origin, and who seemed from habit to suffer as little from the severity of the cold as their dusky mistresses. Their unfortunate lot excited the strongest feelings on the part of the commissioners, whose interposition to obtain their liberation they pleaded for, as well they might, with tears and the most earnest entreaties. Nor were the officers backward in urging upon the Caciques every argument to induce them to give them up; but it was the greatest of their disappointments to find all their efforts on this point unavailing.

The Caciques declared they had no power in a case touching the spoils of war, which, according to their laws, were the sole property of the individual captors, to whom

they referred them to make the best bargain they could. These brutes, on being applied to, demanded in general so extravagant a ransom as to destroy at once every hope on the part of the poor women themselves of its ever being raised, their relatives in general being of the labouring classes employed in the estancias on the frontier; in many cases they, too, were no longer in existence, having perished in the same inroads of the savages which had deprived them of their liberty.

In expectation that the treaties to be made with the Indians would have led to the immediate liberation of all prisoners, some poor people had obtained leave to follow in the train of the commissioners, in the hope of finding their wives and daughters, and carrying them back with them; and a most affecting sight it was, as may well be imagined, to witness their meeting again, after so cruel a separation; but it was much more piteous to behold their subsequent despair on finding that the interference of the commissioners was unavailing, and that the purchase-money demanded for the prisoners was totally beyond what they could ever hope to raise.

The parting again of these poor people was perhaps one of the hardest trials to which human nature could be subjected. Husbands and fathers forced to leave their wives and daughters to the defilement of brutal savages, with scarce a hope of ever being able to obtain their release; it need hardly be said that under such circumstances it was difficult to restrain them from acts of violence which might have compromised the safety of the whole party.

If slavery as carried on by Christian nations appears so revolting to all our better feelings, and excites our strongest sympathies on behalf of the negro, whose condition, after all, is often perhaps ameliorated by being brought under the protection of humane laws, and within the pale of Christianity, what must it be when the case is reversed—when the Christian woman, brought up in at least the decent and domestic habits of civilized society, falls into the power of a savage, whose home is the desert, and who, though little removed in his own habits from a beast of prey, looks down upon the weaker sex as an in-

ferior race, only made to be subject to his brutal will and caprice?

Though the unhappy condition of these poor women excited the sensibility of the commissioners for an instant, it roused also their more manly feelings, and satisfied them that the government of Buenos Ayres owed it to its own honour and to humanity to act with energy, and to make some vigorous effort to rescue these poor victims from the consequences of their own supine and too lenient policy. It was, indeed, evident that any attempt to secure a permanent and satisfactory state of peace would be futile without such a demonstration as would act upon the fears of the Indians, and oblige them to submit to such terms as the government might determine to impose upon them.

Under this conviction the officers would have returned at once to Buenos Ayres, had they not been earnestly solicited by the inhabitants of some other toldos about the Sierra Ventana to visit them before their departure; a request they acceded to in the hope of its enabling them to acquire some geographical information with regard to that range.

On the 2nd they set out with old Lincon, who insisted upon escorting them as far as the place of rendezvous. Their course lay W.S.W., through an undulating country, rich in pasturage, and studded with small lakes, about which were generally found small groups of Indians with their cattle. These lakes in the summer season are for the most part dry, and then the Indians remove within reach of the mountain-streams. Towards evening they pitched their tents on the banks of a stream called the Quetro-eique, the Ventana about two and a half leagues distant, where they found a large encampment of Indians, who received them with rejoicings. As far as the eye could reach, the plains were covered with their cattle and sheep.

Whilst waiting for the assembling of the caciques, the officers devoted two or three days to surveying; following up the Quetro-eique about three and a half leagues, they traced it to its sources on the side of the Ventana. The height of the principal mountain, so called, they deter-

mined by measurement to be 2500 feet above the level of the plain from which it rises.* To the north-west a chain of low hills extends as far as a break by which they are separated from the minor group called the Curumualá. Through this break run two small streams, the one called Ingles-malhuida, from the circumstance of an Englishman having been put to death by the Indians there, the other Mallolenbú, or the White River; the course of both is from south-west to north-east, running nearly parallel with the Quetro-eique, and all, according to the Indian accounts, losing themselves in extensive marshes beyond. The rivers Sauce-grande and Sauce-chico, which fall into Bahia Blanca, rise from the southern declivities of this range, according to the same authority.

When the Caciques and their followers were all assembled there might be about 1500 men, who were paraded by their chiefs much in the same manner as before described—the same ceremonies to drive away the gualichú, and the same preliminary discussions amongst themselves, before they commenced their parleys with the officers; and these terminating precisely in the same unsatisfactory and indefinite manner. The presents, it was evident, were the only objects contemplated by the savages, and when these were not produced quite so quickly as they expected, an attempt was made to seize them by force, and the officers themselves would have been stripped, if not sacrificed, had not Lincon, their host, bravely protected them, and killed upon the spot with his own hand two of the most forward of the assailants: cowed by his intrepidity, and the preparations of their escort to defend themselves, the wretches slunk away, and so ended in blood and confusion the labours of the commissioners. To old Lincon they owed their lives and subsequent safety on their road back to Buenos Ayres, whither they were glad to return as fast as they could, under an escort furnished by him and some of the more friendly tribes of the Huilliches.

* Captain FitzRoy determined it to be 3350 feet above the level of the sea, from which it is distant 45 miles.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Buenos Ayreans march south into the Indian territories — Dangers of military operations in the Pampas — Erection of a fortification at the Tandil — The boundary as laid down in 1828 — Lavalle's mutiny and assassination of Dorrego — Rosas employed in civilizing the Indians — Raises the country against Lavalle — Restores the legal government — Is chosen Governor for these services — Makes war on the savages — Rescues from them 1500 Christian women and children — Drives them beyond the Rio Negro, and greatly extends the territories of Buenos Ayres in that direction.

THE result of Garcia's negotiations roused the government of Buenos Ayres at last to the conviction that some vigorous demonstration of their physical force was required in order to re-establish that salutary fear of the superior military power and discipline of the Christians, which in old times had to a certain degree restrained and kept the savages in order; and they determined to adopt the group of the Vuulcan mountains at once as the boundary of the province in that direction, and to establish a chain of military posts from the sea coast as far west as the Laguna Blanca, with a sufficient force to overawe the Indians, and to afford efficient protection to such settlements as might be made within that line.

The construction of a fort on the Tandil was determined upon, and the Governor himself, General Rodriguez, prepared to superintend the work in person, and to take the field against the savages. The little army assembled for this purpose was ready to march about the close of February, 1823; it consisted of no less than 2500 men, seven pieces of artillery, and a numerous train of carts and waggons, with everything requisite for the formation of a permanent settlement.

The diary of its proceedings,* subsequently printed,

* 'Diario del Ejercito en la Expedicion al Establecimiento de la nueva Frontera al Sud,' publicado en Buenos Aires, 1823.

offers a curious illustration of some of the many difficulties attending military operations in the Pampas.

Instead of following the track of Garcia and his companions by the Tapalquen, after consulting with some guides, who professed to be well acquainted with the intervening country, General Rodriguez determined upon marching direct across it to the Tandil; an attempt, as it proved, more adventurous than prudent.

On the 10th of March the troops left the Guardia del Monte, and had hardly crossed the Salado when they found themselves in the midst of apparently interminable swamps, thickly set with canes and reeds higher than their horses' heads. It was with great difficulty that the waggons and artillery were dragged through; nevertheless, they floundered onwards as far as a lake, to which, from the clearness of its waters, they gave the name of Laguna Limpia; but there it became absolutely necessary to halt in order to reconnoitre the country before proceeding further.

So far they had been grossly misled by their guides, whose only knowledge of the country it appeared had been acquired in excursions in quest of nutrias, which little animals are found in vast numbers in these swamps; but nutria catching and the march of an army accompanied by heavy waggons and artillery are very different things, and the wonder is that all the guns and baggage were not left behind in the bogs. The marshes themselves are formed by the streams which run into them from the hilly ranges further south, and which seem not to have sufficient power to force their way through the low lands either to the Salado or to the sea-coast. Beginning from the morass in which the Tapalquen joins the Flores, they extend far eastward, and render useless a considerable tract of country south of the Salado.

The scouts returning brought accounts that they had found the river Chapeleofú, the course of which it was determined to follow to the Tandil, where it was known to rise; but the troops had hardly left the Laguna Limpia when they were beset by a new danger, which, for a short time, threatened a frightful termination to the expedition.

A sweeping wind blew towards them clouds of dense smoke, followed by one vast lurid blaze, extending across the horizon, and indicating but too clearly the approach of one of those dreadful conflagrations, not uncommon in the Pampas after dry weather, when the long dry grass, and canes and thistles, readily igniting, cause the flames to extend rapidly over the whole face of the country, involving all in one common and horrible destruction.

The Gauchos, on the first indication of danger, have sometimes sufficient presence of mind to set fire immediately to the grass to leeward, by which they clear a space on which to take refuge before the general conflagration reaches them; but there is not always time to do this, much less to save the cattle and sheep, numbers of which often perish in the devouring element. Upon the present occasion the guides seem to have lost their wits as well as their way; and, but for the fortunate discovery of a small lake near them, into which men and beasts alike rushed, dragging the carts with them, the whole army would have been involved in the same tragical end. There, up to their necks in the water, they remained for three hours, during which the fire-storm raged frightfully round them, and then, for want of further fuel, subsiding, left a desolated waste as far as the eye could reach, covered with a black stratum of cinders and ashes. Such is war in the Pampas! The best troops in the world, if not lost in the bogs, may be roasted alive, without the possibility of escape.

After these dangers the army continued its march along the western bank of the *Chapeleofú*, through a country which improved every step they advanced towards the sierras beyond. Picturesque and fertile, the lands seemed only to require to be taken possession of to form a most valuable addition to the territory of Buenos Ayres. The wandering tribes of Indians usually dwelling there had, to all appearance, abandoned them, and withdrawn further south, no doubt in alarm at the preparations made by the Spaniards to occupy them.

The wild guanacoës, and the deer, and the ostriches ranged in thousands over the pastures of their native

regions, and, with hares, partridges, and armadilloes, afforded abundant sport to those sent out to take them. For some days the army was almost entirely subsisted upon them. Vast quantities of armadilloes, especially, were caught by the soldiers. One memorable afternoon's chase is recorded, in which upwards of 400 were taken; and a more delicate dish than one of these little animals, roasted in his own shell, I will venture, from my own experience, to say, is not to be had in any part of the world. The rivers and lakes swarmed with wild and water-fowl of every sort, named and nameless, from the snipe to the beautiful black-necked swan peculiar to that part of the world.

An observation was taken on the Chapeleofú in latitude $37^{\circ} 17' 34''$; shortly after which the army left its course, and marching eastward, encamped at the Tandil, where the surveying officers having reconnoitred the surrounding country, determined upon a site for the new fortification.

The position of the fort constructed there has been fixed by repeated observations in latitude $37^{\circ} 21' 43''$; longitude, west of Buenos Ayres, $39^{\circ} 4''$; variation 15° east. It stands upon a small eminence, one of a lower group of hills which skirts the more elevated range beyond, from which it is divided by a streamlet, which, passing the works about a quarter of a league to the eastward, after being joined by another from the west, forms the river Tandil, which runs north till lost in the marshes in that direction already spoken of. It is screened to the west and north-west by a range of hills rising 300 or 400 feet above it, the summits of which are strewn with large masses of quartzose rock, having a very remarkable appearance when seen from a distance.

The highest part of the range of the Tandil, five or six miles to the south-east of the fort, was ascertained to be nearly 1000 feet above the level of a small stream which runs along its base. It is visible from a distance of forty miles. The height of this part of the range gradually falls off till lost in a wide plain or vale, about twelve miles eastward of the fortification.

The climate in winter was found to be very cold; the prevailing winds from the south and south-west. In the month of April the thermometer was twice $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ below freezing-point; but variations of 20° and even 30° in the course of the day were of common occurrence. In that month (April) the highest of the thermometer was 68° , the lowest $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; in May the highest was 61° , the lowest 31° ; in June the highest was 72° , the lowest 39° ; in July the highest was 79° , the lowest 41° . In the summer the heat was almost insufferable, particularly in the low lands; but in the spring and autumn, which are the best seasons, the weather was found temperate and very agreeable.

Whilst the fort was building on the Tandil, communications were opened with the Pampas Indians residing near the Ventana, proposing to them to join in active operations against the Ranqueles tribes—the Spaniards thinking, as on other occasions, to involve the tribes in war with each other, and to profit by the weakening of both parties; but the Indians were this time upon their guard.

They saw clearly enough that the march of such an army into their territory could have only one object,—the forcible occupation of their lands,—and they took their measures accordingly with their usual astuteness and cunning. Assenting, apparently, to the general propositions made to them, they invited the Buenos Ayrean General to repair with his principal officers to the neighbourhood of the Ventana, there to enter into the definitive treaties. They probably hoped by some *ruse* to get the Governor himself into their hands, and were greatly disappointed at his only sending his second in command, General Rondeau, to treat with them.

Rondeau marched into their territory with a force of 1000 men, passing to the west of the Tinta mountains, and, after going some distance, was met by the principal Caciques, with a large assemblage of their fighting men; and here commenced a negotiation, in which the Buenos Ayrean General was fairly outwitted. The Indians, affecting distrust, proposed that some officers of consequence should be sent to them as hostages during the conferences,

offering, on their part, to place some of their principal Caciques in the power of the General. Rondeau fell into the snare, and took his measures so badly, that, before the exchange was made, six of his officers, two trumpeters, and the interpreter were suddenly made prisoners, and carried off at a gallop, enveloped by a cloud of Indians, who were soon out of sight. His cavalry was in no condition to follow the savages into the Pampas, and he returned to the Tandil with the conviction that the Puelches tribes, as well as the Ranqueles, were combined in one and the same determination to have no more friendly intercourse with the Christians.

The Governor returned to Buenos Ayres with the greater part of the troops, satisfied with having laid the foundations of a new settlement, which from its local advantages he was persuaded was to become a future source of new wealth and importance to Buenos Ayres.*

After his departure, nothing further was attempted, except to send out a party to explore the continuation of the range of the Tandil to the coast, of which the following was the result.

It has been already said that the range of the Tandil gradually declines to the eastward till broken by a wide vale, which commences about twelve miles from the new fortification; the vale in question extends for a distance of forty-two miles:—many streams run through it, some few of which, inclining towards the coast, fall into the sea, though the greater part of them are lost in swamps in the low lands which intervene. It is the greatest break in the chain, and, from its rich pastures, a favourite resort of the Indians. They call it the Vuulcan, which signifies, in their language, an opening; and thence the sierra, which bounds it to the eastward, also takes its name. In many

* The Governor's official account of the establishment thus formed on the Tandil is as follows:—

“Este establecimiento, sostenido y cuidadosamente conservado, formará en adelante la primera y principal riqueza de la provincia de Buenos Ayres: campos hermosos, extendidos y quebrados, pastos fuertes y abundantes, aguadas de un gusto exquisito, y permanentes por todas

partes, lugares privilegiados por la naturaleza para todo ramo de agricultura y frutos, sitios aparentes para establecer pueblos, defendidos de los vientos mas incomodos, y a poca costa de las irrupciones de los barbaros, y la facilidad del comercio con estos, son los elementos que presenta reunidos la nueva fortaleza y frontera,” &c.

maps it is written Volcan, which has led to the erroneous idea of there being a volcano in those parts.

From the Vuulcan the range runs in a continuous line for thirty-six miles towards the sea, presenting, for the most part, towards the north the appearance of a steep dyke or wall. On the summits are extensive ranges of table land, well watered, and with good pasturage, to which the Indians, who are well acquainted with the craggy ravines which alone lead to them, are in the habit of driving their horses and cattle, knowing that the nature of the ground requires but little care to prevent their straying. At a short distance from the coast the hills break off in stony ridges, running down to the sea, and forming the headland of Cape Corrientes, in latitude $38^{\circ} 6'$, and further south a line of rocky cliffs, which bounds the shore as far as Cape Andres.

Upon the borders of a lake a short distance from Cape Corrientes were discovered the remains of the settlement formed by the Jesuits in the year 1747,—a site chosen with all their characteristic carefulness, well suited for an agricultural establishment, of easy access to the sea, and with great capability of being rendered defensible.

It is a striking proof of the indomitable nature of the Pampas tribes, that all the efforts of the missionary fathers to reduce them to habits of order and industry only ended in disappointment; and, after ten years* of fruitless endeavours, to their being obliged to fly from an establishment where their lives were no longer safe. The Indians of the Pampas, like the Arabs of the desert, inseparable from their horses, and wild as the animals they ride, were not, like the more docile people of Paraguay, to be subjected to the strict rules and discipline which it was the object of the fathers to introduce amongst them. The vestiges of their buildings, and the fruit trees planted by them, are the only evidences remaining of their pious but unavailing labours.

Although this spot was in many respects a very inviting one for an agricultural settlement, it wanted the principal requisite of some tolerable roadstead or harbour to facili-

* It was given up in 1753.

tate any direct communication from Buenos Ayres by sea with the new line of frontier, an object of great importance if possible to secure. The coast was vainly explored in search of one from Cape Corrientes some way to the south, and to the north as far as the great lake called the Mar-chiquita, which empties itself into the sea by a narrow channel, capable perhaps of being deepened by artificial means, so as to form a harbour for small vessels; but even this seemed extremely doubtful, and depending on a further examination and survey, which the officers were not at the time prepared to undertake.

Under these circumstances it was thought advisable to postpone the construction of any further works till a more accurate survey of the coast should be made. This was subsequently commenced, and carried as far as Bahia Blanca, which was reported to be the only situation from the Salado on all the line of coast intervening which combined a tolerable harbour for shipping with the capability of being made a good defensible position.

Although this was far beyond the line of frontier at first contemplated, which only reached to the range of the Vuulcan and Tandil, other considerations eventually determined the government of Buenos Ayres to extend their boundary to that point. Not only did it appear that Bahia Blanca was the only place capable of being made a harbour on the coast, but the want of some such harbour to the south became more than ever apparent when the war broke out with Brazil, and the River Plate was placed under blockade by the Emperor's fleet; and although that war at first necessarily diverted the attention of the government of Buenos Ayres from the completion of their original plan, it forced upon them a more enlarged view of their position, and led to the final adoption of an infinitely better boundary-line than that which was first thought of merely as a check upon the Indians.

The line in question, called the boundary of 1828, will be found on the map drawn about N.N.E. from the fort built upon the River Naposta (which falls into Bahia Blanca) to the Laguna Blanca, another point occupied as a military position at the western extreme of the hilly ranges

of the Tapalquen; thence it runs north by the fort of Cruz de Guerra to Melinqué, the N.W. point of the province of Buenos Ayres. It will be obvious that whilst this line embraced within it a much greater extent of territory than that at first projected, it was in reality, being straight, a shorter one, requiring less defences than the ranges of the Tandil and Vuulcan, supposing all the passes to be fortified. Moreover, the lands it enclosed between the two ranges of the Vuulcan and the Ventana beyond, are believed to be the best suited of all those to the south of Buenos Ayres for agricultural settlements; and Bahia Blanca not only offered a good harbour, so much needed upon that coast, but is the nearest point from which a direct communication may be established between the province of Buenos Ayres and that of Concepcion in Chile, upon the shores of the Pacific.

Don Manuel Rosas was employed on the commission appointed to carry out these arrangements. He was well known to the Indians, and the influence of his name went far to induce the more peaceably disposed tribes of the Pampas to enter into treaties for their lands, and to engage to co-operate in defending them against the hostile Ranqueles and their associates.

Several hundreds of them with their wives and families were located in the rural establishments under his immediate charge, where they were employed in a variety of agricultural, pastoral, and other industrial pursuits, with every promise of their being weaned from their vagabond and predatory habits, and made useful members of society, when, unfortunately for that experiment, as well as for the peace of the whole Republic, whilst all were rejoicing at the honourable conclusion of the war with Brazil for the Banda Oriental, the victorious army returning to Buenos Ayres, headed by their commander General Lavalle, mutinied against the governor, General Dorrego, took possession of the capital, dissolved the Sala, and set up a military despotism.

The only forces which could be immediately assembled to oppose the insurgents were the country militia under Rosas, and with them Dorrego took the field in defence

of his own authority and the legal institutions of the Republic: hastily collected and but indifferently armed, they were defeated in the first encounter, and Dorrego falling into the hands of Lavalle, was by his order most inhumanly and barbarously put to death; but this brutal act, instead of terminating the contest as he expected, roused all who were free to act against him, and they flocked by thousands to range themselves under the orders of Rosas, who declared his determination never to sheath his sword till he had put down General Lavalle and his mutinous troops. A long and most disastrous struggle ensued, in which finally the cause of order was everywhere triumphant, the army was broken up, and their leaders obliged to fly for their lives.

The people, grateful for the result and for the re-establishment of their legitimate institutions elected Rosas to be their Governor in place of the unfortunate Dorrego; and thus was that extraordinary man—for such he has certainly shown himself—first raised to that power and



(Juan Manuel Rosas, 1833.)

position in which from a variety of unforeseen circumstances he has ever since been continued.

But to return to the Indians—amongst other lamentable consequences which arose out of these civil dissensions, not only were the friendly Indians again diverted from their peaceful and useful occupations, but the hostile tribes who had never submitted to the Buenos Ayreans, discovering that the garrisons of the new forts were drawn off, and that the frontiers were left without sufficient forces to protect them, burst in upon the new settlement and committed the most frightful ravages. The havoc and devastation they made was dreadful; but it was signally avenged in 1832 and 1833 by General Rosas, who took the field against them in person at the head of the largest force that ever entered their lands: marching southward as far as the Rivers Colorado and Negro, he cleared all the intervening country, putting hundreds of them to death. Some tribes were exterminated, and others fled to the Cordillera of Chile, in the fastnesses of which alone they were safe from the pursuit of the exasperated and victorious soldiers.

The Spaniards and their descendants, more provident in that respect than the English in their colonies, have, ever since their first settlement in South America, taken good care to prevent the introduction of fire-arms amongst the aborigines, to whom the sale of them was prohibited under the most severe penalties. This has enabled them effectually, and with comparatively little loss, to keep the upper hand, and to maintain the *de facto* superiority of regular soldiers over the savages whenever they have come in conflict with them.

What waste of valuable life, what an expenditure of money might we have been saved, had we enforced a similar prohibition in North America, Caffreland, and elsewhere! Is it even now too late?

That the Buenos Ayreans had on this occasion ample justification for hostilities, may be judged from the number of Christian slaves whom they succeeded in rescuing from the hands of the savages: upwards of 1500 women and children were retaken by General Rosas' troops, who had

all been carried off in some or other of their marauding incursions, their husbands, sons, and brothers having been in most instances barbarously butchered before them. Many of these poor women had been in their hands for years: some, taken in infancy, could give little or no account to whom they belonged; others had become the wretched mothers of children brought up to follow the brutal mode of life of these barbarians.

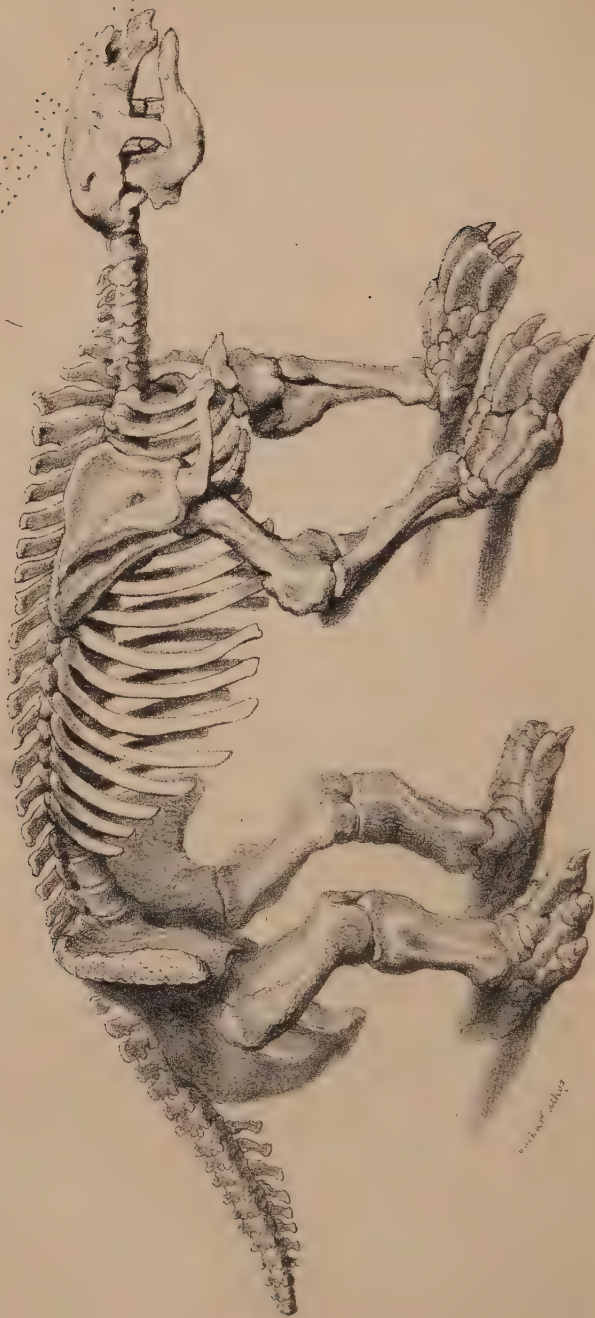
General Rosas fixed his head-quarters on the river Colorado, midway between Bahia Blanca and the settlement of Carmen, on the river Negro. Thence he detached a division of his forces, under General Pacheco, to the south, which established a military position on the Choleechel, now called Isla de Rosas, on the Negro, which river was followed to the junction of the Neuquen. Another detachment marched under the orders of General Ramos along the banks of the Colorado as far as latitude 36° and 10° longitude west of Buenos Ayres, according to his computation, from whence he saw the Cordillera of the Andes, and believed he was not more than thirty leagues from Fort Rafael on the Diamante.

Unfortunately no attempt was made to lay down the course of this river, respecting which, therefore, we have no new data beyond a corroboration of the accounts obtained by Cruz, in 1806, of its being a great river, which runs without interruption direct from the Cordillera to the sea; and a vague opinion expressed by General Ramos, that it is not navigable for more than *forty leagues* from its mouth. Of the Negro, General Pacheco has sent me a sketch, which strikingly confirms the course of the river as laid down by Mr. Arrowsmith, from Villarino's diary.

The result of this expedition against the Indians was very important. The savages received a lesson which they are not likely to forget, and were made to feel the full force of the superiority of the white men; whilst the Buenos Ayreans were left in possession of a vast extent of new lands only wanting population to make them the most valuable part of their possessions.

Assuming as its nominal boundaries the parallel of the Arroyo del Medio to the north—the River Negro in lat.

41° to the south—and the River Diamante to the west, the province of Buenos Ayres may now be said to contain upwards of 200,000 square miles—very little less than the whole of the kingdom of Spain, or of France; a territory, it might be supposed, sufficient to satisfy the ambition and to occupy the sole and undivided attention of any government.



MEGATHERIUM

W. H. A. S. 1849

CHAPTER XV.

Geology of the Northern and Southern Shores of the Plata — The River silting up — The Pampa Formation alluvial — Marine Remains — Evidences of the extensive bed of an Ocean beneath — Saline Lakes and Rivers — Speculations as to the origin of so much Salt — Fossil Monsters found in the Pampas — Account of the Discovery of the *Megatherium* — *Mylodon* and *Glyptodon* — Their anatomical Structure and supposed Habits and Food.

THE geological features of the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, and the remains of the extraordinary fossil monsters which have been discovered in them, have appeared to me to be worthy of a separate chapter.

The geological structure of the Pampas contrasts very remarkably with that of the opposite side of the great estuary of La Plata, called the Banda Oriental. There the rocks consist of clay-slate, gneiss, and granite, which also form the islands of Sola, Las Hermanas, and Martin Garcia, in the river above Buenos Ayres, where the granite is quarried for the pavement of the city, whilst on the Buenos Ayrean side not a trace of solid rock is to be met with, and for hundreds of miles inland not the smallest pebble is to be discovered.

As far as we yet know of it, the whole of that vast plain or level called the Pampas,* extending from the eastern slopes of the Andes to the shores of the Paraná and Uruguay, appears to be one immense bed of alluvial matter, consisting almost throughout of the same red-coloured argillaceous earth containing calcareous concretions more or less indurated, the deposition of detritus

* Pampa signifies in the Quichua language a level country.

brought down by innumerable rivers from the Andes,* which in the long lapse of ages has been poured out, perhaps over the shallow bottom of an ancient sea, subsequently upheaved with this its superincumbent stratum. Some such process of formation appears still to be going on in many parts of the Pampas, where muddy streams and streamlets, descending from the mountains in the rainy seasons, and too sluggish to force a way through the level country, inundate the plains, and gradually deposit the alluvial sediment in the swamps and morasses, until accumulations of fresh soil take place in sufficient quantity to throw off the waters again in some other direction.

The estuary of the Plata, itself the reservoir of a hundred rivers, is, from all I could learn, gradually silting up: wide as it is at the present day, the evidences of the waters having once occupied an area of infinitely greater extent may be distinctly traced along its shores far above Buenos Ayres. Every observation tends to the inference that this now mighty estuary may, centuries hence, be filled up, and then form one great delta like those of the Nile, the Indus, or the Ganges. Nor may this require perhaps so long a period as might at first be imagined.† If we except the narrow channel between the Chico and Ortiz banks, below Buenos Ayres, the average depth of the river between that city and Monte Video does not exceed twenty feet. The prodigious quantity of

* In corroboration of this theory, I beg to refer the reader to the sections annexed to the map, which so strikingly exhibit the gradual fall of this formation throughout its whole extent, from the Cordillera of the Andes to the mouth of the Rio de la Plata.

† For a long time after the first discovery, although all vessels from Spain held their course along the northern shore of the river, cases of shipwreck or disaster below San Gabriel's were of very rare occurrence, leading any one who knows the risks of the navigation of that channel now, to infer that in former times it must have been much more free and safe than at the present day. Barco Centenera, the author of the 'Argentina,' who went out in 1572 with the Adelantado Zarate, makes special mention of the depth of the river between San Gabriel's

and the southern shore, where Buenos Ayres now stands. He says:—

"De ancho nueve leguas ó mas tiene
El rio pora qui, y muy hondable.
La nave hasta aqui segura viene
Que como el ancho mar es navigable."

The river's here nine leagues or more,
And *very deep*, 'twixt shore and shore;
So far the navigation's free
As though 't were on the open sea.

And although, perhaps, a poet's authority is not the very best for a physical fact, in the absence of any other I am disposed in this instance to attach some importance to it, being, as it was, the result of his own personal observation, and strikingly corroborating the little apparent risk which appears to have attended the navigation of that part of the river three centuries ago.]

mud and detritus brought down by it is well known,—the whole river is at times discoloured by it. Now, if but enough of this sediment is deposited to cause the small annual increase of only half an inch in the bed of the river, it will not require 500 years to constitute one vast bed of new soil, which will be nothing more or less than an extension of the alluvial formation of the Pampas.

Such, I imagine, may have been the origin of the far spread formation of the present Pampas or plains, throughout which are to be found the fossil remains of gigantic animals of long lost species, such as the megatherium and mastodon, the glyptodon, mylodon, and toxodon, and other monsters yet unnamed,* whilst beneath, in strata of marine shells, are no less incontestable evidences of the underlying ancient bed of the ocean.

In a country so uniformly level as the Pampas, sections of sufficient depth will not frequently occur to exhibit the lower marine strata. They must be looked for at the outlying extremities of the formation, at both of which—the base of the Andes on the one side, and the shores of the Paraná and the Plata on the other—marine remains are strikingly exhibited.

In the remarkable journey made by General Cruz from Antuco to Buenos Ayres (of which I have given an account in Chapter XII.), he mentions how much he was struck, in crossing the lower terminations of the Cordillera before reaching the Pampas, with the abundance of marine remains thereabouts. He says, in his diary, “In all the hills and valleys under the Cordillera, as far as the river Chadi-leubú, a great quantity of marine remains are met with, some of them constituting a sort of limestone. Not only may these remains be observed upon the surface, but also at great depths below it, in the sections formed by the torrents as they descend from the mountains: there can, therefore, be no doubt that the waters of the sea once occupied the place of the land in those parts.”

* Mr. Darwin has enumerated no less than nine distinct large quadrupeds of which he found the fossil remains at Bahía Blanca (lat. 39° 10'), in what ap-

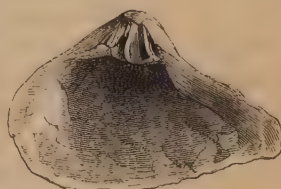
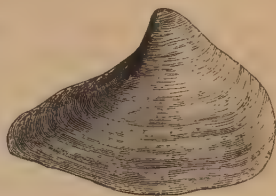
peared to him an estuary deposit, similar to, perhaps a prolongation of, the great Pampa formation.

Proceeding eastward, by the base of the mountain ranges of San Luis and Cordova, which bound the Pampas to the north-west, we have the testimony of Schmitmeyer, Helms, and other travellers, to the existence of water-worn rocks and beds of shells at Portezuela and on the banks of the Rio Tercero; whilst to the east of the Sierra de Cordova, on the great river Paraná, near Santa Fé, upwards of 300 miles from the sea, Mr. Darwin found in the cliff which skirts the river a stratum of marine shells distinctly exposed a little above the level of the water, surmounted by the alluvial bed, here forty or fifty feet thick, and containing bones of extinct mammalia. "On the cliff-formed shores of Entre Rios," he says, "the line can be distinguished where the estuary mud first encroached upon the deposits of the ocean." In the underlying strata are to be seen gigantic oyster and other marine shells; and thus, I think, we may trace almost continuously the shores of a gulf which must have been nearly as large as that of Mexico, and not very unlike it, perhaps, in general outline.

As the alluvial deposit approaches the great estuary of La Plata and the ocean, it gradually thins out, and the evidences of marine remains become still more frequently exposed to view. At distances varying from one to six leagues from the river, and from fifty to a hundred and fifty miles from the sea, extensive beds of marine shells are to be seen, which the inhabitants dig up and burn for lime. From these deposits I have had specimens of *Voluta Colocynthis*, *Voluta Angulata*, *Buccinum Globulosum*, *Buccinum Nov. Spe.*, *Oliva Patula*; *Cytheræa Flexuosa*? *Mactra*? *Venus Flexuosa*, *Ostrea*, &c.* In some places these shells are so compact as to form a sort of limestone, easily worked when first quarried, and hardening afterwards on exposure to the air. The church of La Magdalena upon the coast is built of this material. They are generally in good preservation, and some of the species appear almost identical with those now living on the coasts of Brazil; whilst others, on the contrary,

* Now in the Museum of the Geological Society.

associated with them are unknown. There is one, found generally by itself, which is particularly interesting, as strikingly proving the gradual growth of the Pampas; it is that small *mya* * of which Sowerby has formed the genus *Potamo-myia*, usually found in estuaries at the junction of the fresh and salt water, and the type of which is now to be found living at the mouth of the Plata; but the bed from which my fossil specimens were taken is at the Calera de Arriola, to the north of Buenos Ayres, nearly 150 miles from its present habitat; and there (I think clearly indicated by these little shells) must have been once the mouth of the mighty estuary, which in the lapse of ages has been removed to where it now is, more than 50 marine leagues below it.



(Potamo-myia.)

Mr. Bland, one of the North American Commissioners sent to Buenos Ayres in 1818, reasoning upon the quantity of saline matter found in the Pampas, hazards the conjecture that the Pampa formation, as he says, “may have been gently lifted just above the level of the ocean, and left with a surface so unbroken and flat as not yet to have been sufficiently purified of its salt and acrid matter, either by filtration or washing:” and undoubtedly such saline matter does exist very extensively over this formation. Many of the streams, as their names denote, are rendered brackish by it; and lakes which have no outlet, becoming saturated with it, deposit it in regular beds, where in the dry season it may be collected in any quantity.

But is it not more likely to have been washed down from the secondary strata which form the base of the Andes, in which we know that enormous beds of salt abound, particularly in those parts of the Cordillera where the greater number of the rivers rise which run through

* Vide Sowerby, *Min. Conch.*, tab. 263.

the Pampas, and which are almost all more or less impregnated with it? Can we suppose the Pampas themselves to have originated in sedimentary deposits from those mountain chains, without equally admitting that the alluvial soil washed down may be impregnated with so soluble a substance as the salt which abounds in them?*

In a country of more varied surface we might expect the briny particles to be carried off by the streams and lost in the sea; but in the dead levels of the Pampas the greater part of the streams themselves are lost long ere they reach the ocean. The waters deposit their sediment over the surface, and the salt is left mixed up with the mud of the marshes, until the rains again collect it, and either partially carry it off in brackish streams, or deposit it in the basins of the inland lakes, in which it is so abundantly found. That it is a superficial deposit I am disposed to infer from the fact that (as elsewhere noticed) in the immediate vicinity of some of the saline lakes and rivers in the Pampas, where the surface of all the surrounding country appears to be incrustated with salt, the people find perfectly fresh and potable water by digging wells to an inconsiderable depth.

Although the ancient bed of an ocean lies no doubt beneath it, the Pampa Formation, so called, is of a very different origin, as is manifestly proved by the skeletons of terrestrial animals, discovered in it in such abundance, and in so perfect a state as to negative any idea that they did not live where they died, and near to where they have been subsequently entombed.

Remains of the megatherium have been found in all parts of the Pampas, from the river Carcaraña, in the province of Santa Fé, to the south of the Rio Salado, a distance of nearly 300 miles in a direct line, and might be met with in still greater numbers if searched for during the dry season, or after long droughts, either in the banks of the rivers, or in the beds of some of the numerous lakes

* See account of beds of fossil salt in the higher ranges of the Sierras of Tucuman and Salta, in the works of Helms and other travellers.—Rock salt abounds in Alto Peru, in the New Red Sandstone

series, one of the best characterized of the Secondary formations, in the great chain of the Andes, from Panamá to the Straits of Magellan.

which are then dried up. All the remains I sent home were so discovered; and so were those which were found in the bed of the river Luxan, a short distance to the north of the city of Buenos Ayres, and which were sent to Madrid by the Marquis of Loreto in 1789.

The portions of the great skeleton which I obtained, and which are now deposited in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of London, were discovered in the river Salado, to the south of Buenos Ayres, after a drought of unusually long continuance, by a countryman, who, attempting to cross the river at an unfrequented spot, was struck by the appearance of a large mass of something standing above the surface of the water, which, supposing it to be part of the trunk of a tree, he determined to get out if possible: in this he was assisted by some of his brother gauchos, who, throwing their lassoes over it, succeeded in dragging it out, fortunately without injury, for it proved to be nearly the entire pelvis of the megatherium: with it were also brought up several of the other bones, and amongst them some of the vertebræ. To the gauchos the pelvis luckily appeared to be useless: turn it which way they would, they all agreed that it did not make half so comfortable a seat as a bullock's head, the arm-chair of the Pampas; but the vertebræ did not so easily escape, and, in a place where not a stone is to be seen, were eagerly seized upon as substitutes whereon to boil their camp-kettles. The smaller ones being best suited to the purpose were the first to disappear, which may account for the deficiency of almost all the cervical vertebræ as well as of many of the smaller bones of the feet and other parts.

After a time the pelvis and some of the largest bones were sent as curiosities to the owner of the estancia on which they were found, Don Hilario Sosa, at whose house in Buenos Ayres I first saw them, and who eventually agreed to place them at my disposal, and to allow me to send people to his estancia to search for the remainder of the skeleton. By their exertions many other portions of it were saved; and but for the destruction of some by the country people, as described, and of others which, having been taken out in the first instance, had remained exposed

for some months to the sun, and had become so brittle in consequence as not to bear removal, the skeleton would have been tolerably perfect.

Further researches, set on foot after finding the great skeleton in the river Salado, led to the discovery of the remains of other gigantic animals hitherto unknown, and no less extraordinary than the megatherium.

When the country people saw the eagerness with which the big bones were sought for, they were not backward in speaking of other places where similar remains had been met with, and were still to be found. Upon this information I once more despatched an intelligent agent, with directions to make a further examination of the low lands to the south of the Salado, and General Rosas, the Governor, taking an interest in the matter, furnished him with a recommendation to the local authorities, desiring them to give him every assistance he might need to ensure his success.

In little less than three weeks we were repaid by the discovery of two more enormous skeletons on the estancias belonging to the Governor, called Villanueva and Las Averias, and in both instances with the novelty of their being encased in a thick coating or shell resembling that of the armadillo. The first, found at Villanueva, though still of gigantic proportions, was of a smaller animal than that taken out of the Salado: it was discovered in the bed of a rivulet, and upon exposure to the air nearly all crumbled to dust; the only portions it was possible to preserve being part of a scapula, a portion of the lower jaw with one small but perfect tooth remaining in it, and a fragment of a hind leg, with some of the bones of the foot. The shell lay a little below the principal mass of the bones, looking like the section of a huge cask: the form of it when first discovered appeared natural and perfect, but it would not bear to be lifted out of its bed, and broke into small pieces and crumbled away immediately.

The other skeleton was of larger proportions. It lay in a bed of hard clay on the side of the lake of Las Averias, partly exposed to view by the action of the water

driven against it in stormy weather. Here a large portion of the shell appeared in a perfect state. It was very hard, but could not be got out entire. Mr. Oakley, my agent, however, brought away some considerable portions of it, which, in this instance, became harder the longer they were exposed to the air. Not so the bones within, which, like those at Villanueva, almost immediately mouldered away on being taken out of the earth. A very imperfect fragment of the pelvis only reached Buenos Ayres.

The subsequent discovery of a still more complete specimen has proved these remains to have belonged to another gigantic animal distinct from the megatherium, of the armadillo family, cased in a huge carapace, and to which, from the fluted or sculptured form of the tooth, Professor Owen has given the name of *Glyptodon* (from γλυφω, sculpo; οδους, dens).

On my return to England, after having exhibited these remains at the Geological Society, I made them over to the Royal College of Surgeons in London, whose collection of comparative anatomy, I need scarcely say, is by far the finest in this or any other country. The late Mr. Clift, the curator of that collection, described them in the 'Transactions of the Geological Society for 1835,' and casts of them, the making of which Sir Francis Chantrey was kind enough to superintend, were deposited in the principal museums, abroad as well as at home. To a simple suggestion of that eminent sculptor, their being saturated with a solution of linseed-oil and litharge,* may be ascribed their restoration to a state hardly to be distinguished from that of recent bone.



(Tooth of Glyptodon.)

We had not then obtained sufficient information of the

* In the proportion of an ounce of litharge to a quart of oil.

glyptodon to be satisfied that it was an animal distinct from the megatherium, and that the fragments of the great carapace found at Las Averias did not belong to the latter; and considering that they all formed part of the same collection, brought from the same locality, and with very little other intelligence respecting them, it is not to be wondered at that many persons, and amongst them the learned Professor of Geology, Dr. Buckland himself, following the notion of Cuvier, fell into the mistake of believing that the carapace belonged, with the huge bones of the megatherium, to one and the same animal, and that the monster was encased in a tessellated coat of armour.

The great interest taken by men of science in Europe in these remains was not lost upon the South Americans: I sent to Buenos Ayres the descriptions which were published of them at the time, with plates showing the parts which we possessed in this country, and those which were still wanting to complete our knowledge of these lost monsters, and I urged some of my acquaintances there to exert themselves in case of any new discoveries to endeavour to supply our deficiencies.

This appeal was not in vain, and after a time another interesting collection of fossil bones from the Pampas was sent to England by Don Pedro de Angelis, and purchased by the Royal College of Surgeons: amongst these remains Professor Owen detected what he did not expect, and succeeded in putting once more together in a wonderful manner the bones of a complete skeleton of another new monster hardly less extraordinary than the megatherium and glyptodon, to which he has given the name of mylodon.

An entire cast of that of the megatherium is now to be seen in all its gigantic proportions in the British Museum, whilst those of the mylodon and the glyptodon stand unrivalled in the collection of anatomical treasures of the Museum of the College of Surgeons.

Of these huge creatures the megatherium was the largest, surpassing in some of its dimensions all known quadrupeds, living or extinct; nearer in his anatomical affinities, perhaps, to the arboreal sloths of Brazil than to

any other known existing animal, but of colossal proportions, especially as regards the hinder parts of the body. Measuring the bones alone, the width of his haunches (ilia) was six feet, twice that of the largest elephant; his length was from twelve to fourteen feet exclusive of the tail, which measured five more; his height was about eight feet; his legs, particularly the hind ones, were singularly strong and massive, resting upon feet of extraordinary dimensions: the heel-bone of the foot was six times the size of that of an elephant, and the fore foot, which was terminated by a gigantic claw, was a yard long. From the structure of the bones, Professor Owen describes him as a low-built, broad, and massive quadruped, endowed with prodigious muscular strength, with fore-limbs organised for application to other purposes than those of mere locomotion, and with a tail which must have served as a kind of fifth limb in supporting or propping up the enormous hinder parts of his huge body; whilst the snout was probably furnished also with a short prehensile proboscis like that of the tapir.

The mylodon resembled the megatherium in its massive proportions, and especially in the great expanse of the hind quarters: provided with enormous hoofs and claws, it was allied to that animal by the number and structure of the teeth. The skeleton represented in the annexed woodcut, which is in the College of Surgeons, measures nine feet in length; the body is shorter than that of the hippopotamus, whilst the pelvis is as large as an elephant's; its hind legs are remarkably strong, and it is furnished with a tail of corresponding length and thickness.

The smaller figure in the same cut represents the Ai or three-toed sloth (*Bradypus tridactylus*), reduced to the same scale, whereby the gigantic proportions of the mylodon compared with a species of its most nearly allied existing genus may be readily and accurately appreciated.

The glyptodon was a gigantic armadillo, a well-known genus living in the same plains of South America where the remains of this, their extinct prototype, were found: like them, he was covered with a case of tessellated armour, though in one solid central piece, and not banded and flexible as theirs.



(Glyptodon.)

The great carapace which has been put together in the College of Surgeons, is composed of a vast number of thick pentagonal ossicles, like rosettes, united together by sutures. The length of the shell, following the curve over the back, is five feet seven inches; the breadth over it is seven feet four inches; and three feet three inches in a straight line from side to side, or in its interior shortest diameter.

The annexed representation of this extraordinary animal, as well as that of the mylodon, are taken, with his permission, from Professor Owen's works on the Fossil Organic Remains in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons; and here I cannot but express how greatly I am obliged to the learned Professor for the trouble he has taken in preparing expressly for this work the more particular account of the anatomy and supposed habits of these extinct monsters which will be found in the Appendix.

It will be seen, on reference to the paper in question, that there has been no little speculation as to how they subsisted, and on what they fed. Some have imagined that they burrowed in the ground, and lived on roots which they scratched up with their huge claws; others that they climbed up trees like sloths, and fed upon the tender boughs and branches.

Such is the opinion hazarded by Dr. Lund, after dis-

covering the remains of megatheroids in the bone-caves of Brazil. To imagine this, however, as Professor Owen has shown, would require the existence of trees of proportionate dimensions, far exceeding anything we know of, fossil or recent. In those intertropical regions, where vegetation is on its grandest scale, the animals in question could have experienced no difficulty in obtaining within reach of their long arms abundant supplies of food without the necessity of any climbing process, even if their structure had been really adapted for it, which Professor Owen has, I think, satisfactorily proved that it was not.

In a highly interesting memoir on the mylodon which he has drawn up, and which has been published by the College of Surgeons, he has been led to infer, from extensive fractures in the skull of the specimen now in their



(Mylodon.)

Museum, from the peculiar structure of the cranium apparently designed to resist such accidents, and from the adaptation of its other parts for such a purpose, that the animal may have been in the habit of uprooting and prostrating large trees for its food, and that it was in the act of doing so that it may have received the injuries in question; nor is it easy, perhaps, to imagine any other mode in which it could have met with such an accident.

From the situation in which it was found, to the north of Buenos Ayres, it is not improbable that the skeleton which is the subject of the memoir referred to, and which, I believe, is the only one which has yet been brought to light, may have been transported thither from the woody regions of the higher parts of the river Paraná or Uruguay, together with the fluvatile deposits which constitute the formation, in the same manner as in these days living jaguars and other wild animals are annually brought down upon the "camelotes," or floating islands, by the periodical floods.

But, with respect to the megatherium and glyptodon, of which the remains have been found so frequently in the Pampa formation, and in so perfect a state as to warrant the conclusion not only that they were a very numerous race, but that they lived where they died, and where their skeletons have been discovered, as there are in these days no forest-trees in any part of that formation like those of Brazil to supply the wants of such monsters, it is necessary to consider what other vegetable food may have been within their reach: for, although it may be argued that a different state of things might possibly have existed ages ago, there are, as appears to me, very strong motives for believing that if any country in the world has suffered little material change in the lapse of ages, it must be, all circumstances considered, this alluvial formation, in which these extinct monsters lie hardly yet buried beneath the surface of the soil.* The circumstances which have more or less determined the character of the vegetation of the Pampas, so far as we have the means of judging, can have

* The carapace of a glyptodon, I believe that in the College of Surgeons, was found by a horse's foot breaking into it

as a gaucho was riding over the turf. The roots of the grass must have grown to it.

been little changed since the elevation of that Cordillera from the detritus of which they appear to have been formed ; the same soil—the same blasts which must have been coeval with the Andes, in which they originate, sweeping with extraordinary violence across the level plains below, and hindering the growth of forest-trees—were they likely to be otherwise than they now are when these animals were alive ?

Is there any ground for supposing that forests of palm-trees may not then have covered the northern parts of the provinces of Cordova and Santa Fé, or that the gigantic aloes and cacti, which now grow so luxuriantly and to such vast size in the more southern parts of these plains, may not equally have abounded in the days of the megatherium and been his food ? May not that long arm and claw, so graphically described by the learned Professor as designed for the purpose of *grasping*, have enabled him, resting on his mighty haunches, or three legs, to reach across the broad and spiny fence of the protruding leaves of the great agavé, to wrench out (which would have required very great force) its flowery stalk full of saccharine juice, the fall of which I have seen eagerly watched for days together by cattle unprovided with the like means of obtaining it ? May not the megatherium have rejoiced not only in the juicy stalks and fruits, but in the pulpy leaves of the plants in question, which in some parts of South America are now cut up and given to cattle to feed upon ?*

By way of variety I once thought he might have revelled amongst the giant thistles which now cover hundreds of miles in the Pampas, and which, when young and tender, are eaten with avidity by cattle ; but I am told that could not be, because the thistle in question is generally believed to be an European plant introduced since the conquest of the country by the Spaniards.

* I understand from Mr. Bollaert that in Texas, where there are immense thickets of the tuna or prickly pear, cattle and

wild horses feed on the fruit and young leaves.

CHAPTER XVI.

The great Rivers Paraguay, Paraná, and Uruguay, and their principal Affluents, the Pilcomayo and Vermejo — Their navigable extent — The latter explored by Cornejo and Soria — Periodical Inundations of the River Paraguay, resembling those of the Nile — Spanish Surveys — Captain Sullivan's Charts — Passage of Her Majesty's War-Steamer 'Alecto' shows the advantages of Steamers over Sailing-Vessels — Incumbent on the Government of Buenos Ayres to promote Steam Navigation on the Rivers of the Confederation.

BEFORE attempting to give any account of the Upper Provinces, a short description will perhaps here be not out of place of the great rivers which run through them, and from the navigation of which by steam hereafter such important consequences may be anticipated.

Of these the Paraguay is the first—the Mississippi of the South. This river has its sources in seven little lakes (*las siete lagunas*), situated in about south lat. 13° , long. $56^{\circ} 20'$, in those ranges which to the west of Brazil appear almost to meet the last spurs of the lofty mountains of Peru, and to constitute the watershed of some of the principal rivers of South America. From their northern declivities descend some of the most important of the eastern affluents of the Madera, the Tapajos, and other great streams, which empty themselves into the Marañon or Amazons; whilst on the other hand, all those which pour down towards the south find their way into the great basin of the wonderful river I am describing.

Many navigable streams join the river Paraguay from the eastward, as it passes through the rich Brazilian territories of Matto-Grosso and Cuyabá. Its tributaries from the opposite side are, though perhaps more important, less numerous, the surface of the country being more level; of these the Jaurú is the first of any consequence, the

sources of which are close to those of the Guaporé, which runs in the opposite direction into the Madera and Amazons.

The short portage which intervenes between the heads of these rivers is all that breaks a continuous water-course from the mouths of the Amazons to that of the Plata, as will be seen on reference to the map.

A little below the Jaurú commences that region of swamps called the Lagunas of Xarayes, which, during the periodical inundations of the rivers that descend from the mountains above Cuyabá, is flooded for a vast extent, forming one great shallow inland sea from lat. 17° , where it may be said to commence, to 22° , reaching nearly 300 miles from north to south, and upwards of 100 in width. Some of the lowlands of the province of Chiquitos and of the Gran Chaco, which are thus inundated, are said to be not more than 500 feet above the level of the sea.* As the rainy season passes away, this mass of waters is carried off by the Paraguay, which even here, 1200 miles from the ocean, is navigable for vessels of 40 or 50 tons.

The mouth of the Jaurú is in lat. $16^{\circ} 25'$, long. $58^{\circ} 30'$, where a marble pyramid was erected to mark the boundary between the Spanish and Portuguese dominions by a joint commission appointed for the purpose, pursuant to the treaty of 1750.

Father Quiroga, who accompanied Flores the Spanish commissioner to determine this point, in descending the Paraguay, fixed the latitude of most of the numerous rivers which fall into it before its junction with the Paraná; and it is chiefly on his authority that they were first laid down with any accuracy by Don Luis de la Cruz de Olmedilla in his great map of South America, published at Madrid in 1775.

On the eastern side they afford the means of communication with the gold and diamond districts of Brazil, and lower down with those districts of Paraguay proper which abound in the finest timber, and produce the yerba

* Azara says that from the barometrical observations of the boundary commissioners, it appears that for 400 miles

the fall of the Paraguay above the 23^{rd} parallel south lat. is not more than a foot in a mile.

mâté, the article most in demand of all the productions of that country.

From the west, the most important affluents of the Paraguay are the Pilcomayo and the Vermejo, which fall into it below the town of Assumption: both flow through a vast extent of country, having their sources in the elevated regions of the Bolivian Andes.

The Pilcomayo rises in the mountains to the north-west of Potosi, and is shortly after increased by several smaller streams:* 60 or 70 leagues below, where it is crossed by the high road between Potosi and Chuquisaca, it receives its most important western tributary, the Pilaya, formed by the united streams of many small rivers descending from the mountains of Lipez, Tupiza, and Talina; whence running in a south-easterly direction, after a very tortuous course through the flat low country in the centre of the Gran Chaco, it empties itself into the Paraguay by two branches, the one called the Araguay-guazú, or Great Araguay, in lat. $25^{\circ} 21' 19''$, according to Azara (who went up it about 20 leagues in 1785); the other the Mini, or Little Araguay, about nine leagues farther down.

The Jesuits made two attempts in the last century from Paraguay to ascend the Pilcomayo, in the hope of being enabled by it to open an easier communication with their missions in the province of Chiquitos; and although that was found to be impracticable, they went up it more than 1200 miles, and obtained information of considerable interest respecting its course through the Gran Chaco.

The first of these explorations was in 1721, under the direction of Father Patino, accompanied by several of his countrymen and 60 Guarani Indians: they started about the end of August in a vessel of 80 tons burthen, in which they reached the bifurcation of the river, about 90 leagues above its junction with the Paraguay, where they were stopped by a ledge across it, on which there was not sufficient depth of water for the vessel to pass. Patino, however, and another of the fathers went on in a small boat with some of the party, following the windings

* The Cachimayo, amongst others, one of the upper branches of the Pilcomayo, which rises not far from the Bolivian capital, Chuquisaca.

of the river, according to their calculation, for the great distance of 470 leagues, when falling in with a horde of Chiriguano Indians, with whom they became involved in hostilities, they were obliged to give up the further prosecution of their enterprise, and return whence they came, after spending 83 days in accomplishing the distance in question.

From their diary, which has been preserved, it appears that the navigation was much impeded by the accumulations of fallen trees brought down by the floods; and as they advanced they found everywhere evidences of extensive inundations, forming lakes, and flooding the low lands during the season of the rains; the water of the river was brackish, and in some places the earth forming its banks was strongly impregnated with salt ("Sal comun bueno en varias partes de las barrancas"); but by digging a short distance from the river, and very little below the surface, it was generally to be obtained pure and fresh.

Twenty years afterwards, in 1741, Father Castañares made a second attempt, which was not more successful, being stopped after 83 days' hard work for want of sufficient water even to float a boat.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, there was little interest taken in this matter, till a few years ago, when (in 1844) the Bolivian Government made a last effort to ascertain whether or not it was possible, as seemed generally to be believed, to open by it a communication between Alto Peru and Paraguay. Three small vessels or barges were built for this purpose, and an armed party under the command of a Mr. Thompson, a North American, dignified with the title of Commodore, was put on board, and started from a place named Magariños, after one of the Bolivian ministers, a little below the falls of Caiza, in about lat. 21° S., where the Pilcomayo enters the plain of the Gran Chaco; but after 37 days' incessant labour, in which, from the shallowness of the waters, they had only advanced about ten leagues, the largest of the boats, drawing 22 inches, grounded in a wide shallow of the river, which was found to extend so much further down it, that all idea of pro-

ceeding was abandoned. In that situation they were attacked by the Indians, who wounded several of the party with their arrows; the same tribes perhaps who, about the same place, had driven back the Jesuits more than a century before.

Whilst the upper parts of the Pilcomayo were thus proved to be impassable, the Vermejo, or Red River (so called from the discolouration of its waters by the red alluvial soil which is washed into it during the periodical floods), has been on the contrary ascertained to be navigable from its junction with the Lavayen, in about lat. 23° , not far from the town of Oran, in the province of Salta, to the Paraguay, and thence to Buenos Ayres, a distance of more than 2000 miles.

In the course of the last century the authorities of Tucuman had sent various expeditions into the Gran Chaco to subjugate the Indians, which had made them tolerably acquainted with the general course of the upper portion of the Paraguay, on the borders of which they had formed settlements (*reducciones*) of the Tobas and Macobi Indians, known by the names of Concepcion, Santiago or Cangayé, and San Bernardo; but no attempt had ever been made to navigate it until 1778, when a Franciscan friar, Padre Murillo, went down it with four other persons in a canoe, the whole way from Senta to Paraguay.

Twelve years after, in 1790, Colonel Adrian Cornejo, a native of Salta, fitted out a small vessel at his own expense, in which, starting with two of his sons and some other persons from the confluence of the rivers Senta and Tarija on the 9th of July, he descended it without difficulty or impediment to its junction with the Paraguay, in fifty-five days, having navigated by the course of the stream no less than 408 leagues according to his own computation.

His diary and narrative are the best authorities we possess for laying down its course; for although, in 1826, a still more careful exploration of it was made by Don Pablo Soria, agent to an association formed at Buenos Ayres for the purpose of opening a water-communication by it with the Upper Provinces, the details of the voyage were lost to the public in consequence of the detention of

the party and the seizure of all their papers by Dr. Francia, the despotic and eccentric ruler of Paraguay.*

Five years afterwards, when permitted to proceed to Buenos Ayres, they drew up from memory an account of their proceedings, which left no doubt of their complete success in verifying the possibility of navigating the Vermejo—their vessel, which was fifty-two feet in length and drawing two feet of water, having been floated down the stream with little more assistance than was necessary to keep it in the midchannel the whole way from the vicinity of Oran, from which he started the 15th of June, to the Paraguay in fifty-seven days, and without any other impediment than a feeble attempt made by some Indians armed with bows and arrows to annoy them as they passed through their lands in the Chaco: a result which must sooner or later be of incalculable importance to the trade of these countries.

As the Paraguay may be called the Mississippi of the southern continent of the New World, so perhaps the Vermejo may not inaptly be termed another Missouri.

About thirty miles below the mouth of the Vermejo, the Paraguay is joined from the east by the great river Paraná, which name their united waters thence take till they are finally lost in the Rio de la Plata. This river, rivalling in extent the Paraguay itself, rises in the mountain-chains to the north-west of Rio de Janeiro, in latitude 21° S. Turning first westward, and afterwards towards the south, it is increased by several large rivers, amongst which the most noted are the Rio Grande or Para, the Tieté, the Paranapané, and the Curitiba. On reaching the Guarani Missions, near Candelaria, in about lat. $27^{\circ} 30'$, it turns again westward, and runs with little deviation from that parallel till it falls into the Paraguay.

Thence these two mighty streams, mingling their waters, flow on in one vast and uninterrupted body, gradually in-

* Whilst preparing this work for the press I learn by a letter from my son, Lieut. Parish, R.N., of H.M. steam-vessel "Conflict," now employed on the coast of Brazil, that he had met with a German naturalist, M. Virgil von Helmreichen,

who had lately returned from an excursion into Paraguay, where he had seen Soria's map of the Vermejo, which has been preserved by the authorities, and of which he had been permitted to take a copy, which he promises to publish.

creased by many rivers of minor importance, which join it from either side, till they finally empty themselves into the great estuary of the Río de la Plata.

The extent throughout which they are navigable varies with the geological formation of the countries through which they respectively pass.

The Paraná, whilst running through the mountainous districts of Brazil, is interrupted in its course by many falls above the Guarani Missions, especially one called the Salto Grande, in lat. $24^{\circ} 4' 58''$ (as fixed by the officers of the Boundary Commission in 1788), where the river, which immediately before is nearly a league in breadth, becomes suddenly contracted by a rocky pass not more than sixty yards in width, through which it rushes with great impetuosity, and forms a splendid cataract between fifty and sixty feet high, dashing down with such thundering noise that it is said to be heard at a distance of five or six leagues. For a hundred miles afterwards, as far as the mouth of the river Curitiba, in lat. $25^{\circ} 41'$, the river is nothing but a succession of falls and rapids.

The Paraguay, properly so called, on the contrary, may be navigated upward by vessels of some burthen the whole way to the Jaurú, in lat. $16^{\circ} 25'$, presenting the extraordinary instance of an uninterrupted inland navigation in an extent of nearly nineteen degrees of latitude, throughout the whole of which there is not a rock or stone to impede the passage, the bottom being everywhere formed of mud or fine sand.

The upper part of the river is extremely picturesque, and its shores abound in all the varieties of an intertropical vegetation. The palms particularly are remarkable for the magnificence of their growth. Lower down the Paraná is thickly studded with islands covered with wild orange-trees, and a variety of beautiful shrubs and parasitical plants, peculiar to the New World.

It has been remarked that there is a great resemblance in the periodical risings and inundations of the Paraguay and those of the Nile, and there is certainly a striking analogy between the two rivers in many respects. Both have their sources in intertropical latitudes, and though

running towards opposite poles, disembogue by deltas at about the same distance from the equator; both are navigable for very long distances, and both have their periodical risings, bursting over their natural bounds, flooding and fertilizing vast tracts of country.

The Paraná begins to rise about the end of December, which is soon after the commencement of the rainy season in the countries situated between the tropic of Capricorn and the equator, and increases gradually till the month of April, when it begins to fall something more rapidly until the month of July. There is afterwards a second rising, called by the natives the *repunte*; but this, though regular, is of no great consequence, the river never overflowing its banks. It is probably occasioned by the swelling of the rivers from the winter rains in the temperate zone.

The extent of these periodical risings is, of course, in some degree, regulated by the quantity of rain which may fall in the tropics during the corresponding season; but, in general, the inundation takes place with great regularity, the waters rising gradually about twelve feet in the bed of the river in four months: this is the ordinary average of the increase of the river below the junction of the Paraguay; though above it, at Assumption, where the river is more confined, the rise is said by Azara to be sometimes as much as five or six fathoms.

When the inundation exceeds these its ordinary limits, the consequences are very serious to the inhabitants of the adjacent lands. The effects of a remarkable flood which took place in 1812 will long be remembered. Vast quantities of cattle were carried away by it; and when the waters began to subside, and the islands which they had covered became again visible, the atmosphere for a time was poisoned by the effluvia from the innumerable carcasses of skunks, capiguaras, jaguars, and other animals which had been drowned on them.

On such occasions it frequently happens that the animals, to save themselves, swim off to the floating masses of canes and brushwood (called by the Spaniards "*camelotes*"), and are thus carried down the river, and landed in the vicinity of the towns and villages upon the coast. Many

are the stories which are told of the unexpected visits of jaguars (tigers, as the people of the country call them), so conveyed from their ordinary haunts to Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. One was shot in my own grounds near Buenos Ayres, and some years before no less than four were landed in one night at Monte Video, to the great alarm of the inhabitants when they found them prowling about the streets in the morning.

In the swampy region of Xarayes, where the inundation commences, the ants, which are in vast numbers there, have the instinct to build their nests in the tops of the trees, out of reach of the waters, and of a kind of tenacious clay, so hard that no cement can be more durable or impervious to the weather and moisture.

During the inundation the river is exceedingly turbid, from the great quantity of vegetable substances and mud brought down by it: in the low lands, where it overflows its bed, these substances are spread far and wide over the surface, forming a grey slimy soil, which, on the abatement of the waters, is found to increase the vegetation in a surprising degree.

From the very low and flat nature of the plains which extend from the eastern slopes of the Andes to the Paraguay, many rivers which descend from them are either partially or entirely lost, after long and tortuous meanderings, in swamps and lakes, the waters of which are carried off by evaporation during the heats of summer. This seems to be the case with the Pilcomayo where it ceases to be navigable, but is still more strikingly exemplified in the river Pasages, or Salado, which, from the great extent of country it passes through, and the many other streams it collects in its course from the province of Salta to Santa Fé, would be a river of the first importance, were not the greater part of its waters lost in the level plains through which it runs.

The Rio Dulce, which, passing by Tucuman and Santiago del Estero, runs parallel to it, disappears in the great lake called the Porongos, in the Pampas of the province of Santa Fé. The Primero and Segundo, which rise in the province of Cordova, disappear in the same plains. The Rio

Tercero, the most important river of that province, with difficulty finds its way during part of the year to the bed of the Carcaraña, which falls into the Paraná, near San Espíritu, below Santa Fé. The Quarto and the Quinto, and, still further south, the waters of the rivers from Mendoza and San Luis, are lost in the morasses and lakes which form so striking a feature in the physical geography of that part of the continent.

It is worth notice that almost all the rivers to the west of the Paraguay are more or less impregnated with salt, running through the red saliferous deposits of the lower ranges of the Andes;* in which they strikingly contrast with those which join the Paraná from the eastern side, which are all as perfectly fresh.

Of these the principal is the river Uruguay, which contributes with the Paraná to form the great estuary of La Plata, and takes its name from its numerous falls and rapids. The whole extent of its course is about 270 leagues. It rises in latitude $27^{\circ} 30'$, in the Sierra de Sta. Catalina, which there bounds the S.E. coast of Brazil, and for a long distance runs nearly due west, receiving, besides many affluents of less importance, the Uruguay-Mini (or Little Uruguay) from the south, and the Pepiry-Guazú (or Great Pepiry) from the north. As it approaches the Paraná it changes its course, inclining southward through the fertile territories in which the Jesuits established their once celebrated Missions. Opposite to Yapeyú, the last of those establishments, it receives, in latitude $29^{\circ} 30'$, the Ybicuy, a considerable stream from the east. In $30^{\circ} 12'$ the Mirinay pours into it from the west a considerable portion of the drainage of the vast lake or swamp of Ybera. Its principal tributaries afterwards are the Gualaguaychú, from the province of Entre Rios, and the Rio Negro, the largest river of the Banda Oriental, soon after receiving which it falls into the Plata with the Paraná, in about 34° south latitude.

Flowing through a country the geological constitution

* As stated previously, the most abundant rocks of the secondary series in the Andes correspond to our gypseous and saliferous sandstones and marls of the

midland districts of England, so abundant here as elsewhere in salt-pits and brine springs.

of which totally differs from that through which the Paraguay runs, its navigation is interrupted by many ledges of rocks and falls, only passable when the waters are at their highest, during the periodical inundations, or by portages in the dry season. Of these the Salto Grande and Salto Chico (the great and small falls), a little below the 31st degree of latitude, are the first and worst impediments met with in ascending the river. The former consists of a rocky reef running like a wall across its bed, which at low water is at times crossed by the gauchos of the country on horseback, though during the floods it is passable in boats, by which the river is navigable without further danger as high up as the Missions.

The higher parts of the river are bounded by dense forests of noble trees in great variety, and in its bed are found beautiful specimens of silicified wood and variegated pebbles, of which I brought many to this country.

The Rio Negro (or Black River), which runs into the Uruguay from the Banda Oriental, derives its name from the hue of the sarsaparilla plant, which at a particular season rots upon its banks, and falls into the stream in such immense quantities as to discolour its waters, which are found to be highly medicinal, and much in request in consequence. The little village of Mercedes, near its mouth, is resorted to by invalids from Buenos Ayres to drink these waters.

The course of the river Paraguay, as high as the Jaurú, was carefully laid down after the treaty of 1750; and the Spanish officers appointed to determine the boundary line between the possessions of Spain and Portugal, in virtue of that subsequently signed at San Ildefonso in 1777, surveyed the Paraná as high as the Tieté, as well as the whole of the Uruguay, and all their most important affluents. The results of their labours may justly be ranked amongst the most important geographical surveys of the last century. Copies of the whole existed at Buenos Ayres during my residence there, in the hands of Colonel Cabrer, one of the officers originally attached to the commission; and the Argentine Government, I understood, was in treaty for the purchase of them for the use of the

topographical department of the state, where, it is to be hoped, they will not be buried and lost to the world as they were in the time of the Spaniards.

A contribution to the geography of these countries, scarcely less important, has been recently made by the British Government, in the elaborate surveys of the rivers Paraná and Uruguay, executed by Captain Sullivan, R.N.,* under the able direction of Sir Francis Beaufort, Hydrographer to the Navy. The series of beautiful charts just published by the Admiralty, which embrace the whole course of the Paraguay as high as Corrientes, and of the Uruguay to Paysandú, from their large scale, and the numerous soundings marked upon them, cannot but greatly facilitate the navigation of these rivers within the above mentioned limits. Captain Sullivan's surveys were executed during the operations of the British naval forces in 1846,† when the fact that steam-vessels of considerable burthen and draught of water could ascend these rivers to a very great distance, especially during the season of the freshes, was fully established. A striking instance of this was afforded in the case of H.M. steamer "Alecto," of 200-horse power and 800 tons burthen, which in 39 days made the voyage from Monte Video to Corrientes and back, the distance gone being little under 2000 miles.

On the passage up, and little more than half way, she overtook a convoy of sailing vessels which had left Monte Video whilst she was still fitting in England: they had been as many weeks as the "Alecto" had been days in getting so far.

Those vessels were 112 days in reaching Corrientes from Monte Video, corroborating fully an opinion which I ventured to publish as long ago as 1839, that if the navigation of the upper parts of the Paraná was thrown open, as some of the Riverine provinces had at times desired, it could never be an object to European sailing vessels to avail themselves of it, inasmuch as the passage up,

* According to Capt. Sullivan, when the river is high, vessels drawing 16 feet may ascend it as far as the pass of San Juan, in lat. $30^{\circ} 36'$, and those drawing 12 feet may go up to Corrientes, with 2 feet to spare; but when the Paraná is at its

lowest, vessels attempting to ascend it should not draw more than 6 feet.

† See an interesting narrative of these operations, called 'Steam-Warfare in the Paraná,' by Commander Mackinnon, R.N., the Captain of the Alecto, published in 1848

against the stream, from Buenos Ayres to Corrientes, irrespective of the frequent risks of a river-navigation, would at least occupy as much time as the sea voyage from England or France.

But, barring those considerations, who, if they got there, would guarantee them against the arbitrary exactions of the petty chiefs in command of those remote and half-civilized regions, where there is no law but that of the strongest for the time being, and no power within reach to enforce redress for any wrongs they might suffer? *

It is a convenient as well as just provision of the law of nations that restricts the navigation of inland waters to the uses of those to whom the countries bordering upon them belong, and so, amongst other consequences, prevents the continual disputes with "nobody knows who" (to use a homely expression) which would necessarily result from the reverse of the rule, especially in such countries as these.

Nor is it a valid argument of those who adopt a contrary view, that some of the provincial authorities, for their own local interests, may have taken upon themselves to invite and hold out inducements to foreigners to violate the principle in question: the right of such parties to do so without the consent and sanction of all the other members of the Confederation, who have a common interest therein, is a most questionable one, to say the least of it; and although it may possibly, under particular circumstances, enter into the views of some of their immediate neighbours to take advantage of such a state of things, in order to profit by the differences which may temporarily exist amongst the members of the Confederation, as a general rule it can never be desirable for foreign governments at a distance, who are on friendly terms with the Republic, to connect themselves with such proceedings, or with the petty authorities so situated, as long as there is any recognized and responsible power representing as heretofore the body of the Confederated Provinces at Buenos Ayres.

* The first measure of the local authorities, when our merchant vessels reached Corrientes in 1846, was to double the duties upon the export of the native

produce which they had gone up to collect: they might thank the protection of our guns that they got off as well as they did—"ex uno disce omnes."

It is very natural that the people of the provinces in the interior of these countries should be desirous to realize the advantages of water communication which is so immediately within their reach ; but, if they value their own peace and independence, they will settle that between themselves, not by an appeal to foreigners, much less by direct foreign intervention. They possess in a remarkable degree the means of mutual aid and support, which, if they will but act together and help one another, can hardly fail to secure to them a vast increase of individual prosperity and national importance. The reverse of the picture has been foretold in words which no man can gainsay : “ If a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand.”

It is for the members of the Government of Buenos Ayres, which is charged with the general interests of the Confederation, to take the initiative in this all-important matter. From their long intercourse with the people of other countries, they must be fully aware of the immense benefits which steam-navigation has produced elsewhere, and how greatly it has tended to promote the prosperity and civilization of other nations : it is in their power to extend those blessings to their own countrymen in the interior of South America, and thereby to make a real and effective Confederation of that which is now little more than a nominal one, from the vast distances which separate the people of the provinces from each other, and which constitutes so serious an obstacle to any unity of action whatever amongst them.

Whether the Government of Buenos Ayres shall think fit to purchase steamers on account of the state, to carry on a weekly or more frequent periodical communication with the people of Entre Rios and Corrientes, or encourage private individuals to form associations for that object—whether steamers of large capacity shall be employed under the national flag to carry cargo, or smaller ones, as our steam-tugs, to tow sailing vessels or barges up the stream—are all questions of secondary importance, so long as the great fact is realized of the establishment of steam-navigation on the waters of the Paraná and of its tributaries.

BUENOS AYRES

AND THE

PROVINCES OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA.

PART III.

THE RIVERINE PROVINCES.

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CHAPTER XVII.SANTA FÉ.  
ENTRE RIOS.CORRIENTES.  
THE MISSIONS.  
PARAGUAY.

IN proceeding now to give some account of the provinces confederated with Buenos Ayres, I shall commence with those which, from their proximity to the Paraná, may be called the Riverine Provinces, and which, both from their geographical position and origin, were always more immediately connected with Buenos Ayres than any other sections of the Republic.

Happy, perhaps, would it have been for them had they remained so, with no other views than one and the same common and undivided interest. The small progress they have made in the many years they have now had the management of their own affairs, sufficiently shows how little they were fitted for self-government when they were separated from the immediate control of the powers established in the capital.

For the first half century after the abandonment of the settlement which Mendoza had formed at Buenos Ayres in 1535, the Spaniards in Paraguay, with their views solely directed towards Peru, seem to have concerned themselves very little about securing any hold over what they deemed the poorer districts they had left behind them; glad, perhaps, not to be again involved in hostilities with the warlike tribes who had so successfully opposed their first landing in South America.



The ships which arrived in the River Plate from Spain, with an inland navigation before them to Assumption requiring more time than the whole voyage from Europe, were entirely dependent for any refreshments they might require on the good will of the natives. Once in the Paraná, if any accident befel them, there was not a single Christian port for nearly 1000 miles in which they could find a refuge.

It was reserved to Don Juan de Garay, well known from his subsequent exploits, to remedy this evil, and to re-establish once more the power of his countrymen over the lower parts of the river, which they had lost by the abandonment of the settlements originally made by Cabot, Mendoza, and Ayolas. Appointed to convey Caceres safely down the river, when the people of Paraguay rose against his authority and sent him as a state prisoner to Spain, De Garay appears to have availed himself of that opportunity to obtain leave to carry out a project which he had long entertained of founding some new settlement nearer to its mouth.

The colonists had been anxiously looking for the arrival from Spain of the Adelantado Zarate with reinforcements and fresh recruits, which at the moment gave still more importance to the scheme, and De Garay's own popularity amongst his countrymen secured as many volunteers as he could equip; for as usual in such cases, he was to bear all the expenses of the enterprise.

In his choice of a site, he was probably guided by the same motives which had led Cabot, and afterwards Ayolas, to fix themselves in the lands of the Timbú Indians to the north of the river Carcaraña; and who, it will be recollected, were found by the first discoverers to be a much more peaceful race than either the Charruas, who had killed and eaten old De Solis, or the Querandis, who had so successfully opposed Mendoza at Buenos Ayres, sowing grain and cultivating their lands more like the docile Guaranis of Brazil and Paraguay.

There, in about lat.  $31^{\circ}$  S., he landed his people on the right bank of the Paraná, and after establishing a friendly understanding with the natives, commenced, in July, 1573,

the foundation of the town of Santa Fé de la Vera Cruz; the inhabitants of which in later times (1651) removed further south, to the mouth of the Rio Salado.

It was whilst thus engaged that the Spaniards from Paraguay were for the first time brought in contact with the conquerors of Tucuman, their countrymen who had invaded it from Peru, of whose proceedings till then they had been as ignorant as they were of every part of those vast territories which to the westward extend from the Paraná to the great Cordillera of the Andes.

De Garay, engaged in exploring the shores of the river below Santa Fé, had entered the mouth of the Salado, when suddenly a great stir was observed amongst the natives, who betook themselves to their arms in such numbers, that the Spaniards, alarmed, and expecting to be attacked by them, were glad to get on board their little craft, and make the best preparations they could for defence. From the mast-head, fires, the well-known signal for war, were seen lighting in every direction; and the man placed there to look out gave notice that the savages were pouring down towards them in vast numbers, not only by land, but by the river, in their canoes, apparently to attack them in their vessel.

De Garay, pent up in a little creek, into which he had run his vessel, and believing his situation desperate, was exhorting his people to make the best defence they could, when suddenly the look-out-man exclaimed that he saw a cavalier, presently another and another, and then several more, charging the Indians in their rear; nor was it long before they saw the whole host dispersed, routed, and flying before a party of horsemen.

The Spaniards were as much astonished at this unlooked-for encounter as the Indians, nor could they imagine to whom they were thus indebted for their preservation at the moment they expected to have been overwhelmed without a chance of succour, though that they were some of their own countrymen they could scarcely doubt after seeing the horses.

The strangers were not long in making themselves known; they were soldiers from Tucuman, who, under

their leader Cabrera, having founded the city of Cordova on the same day that De Garay had commenced his settlement at Santa Fé, were then scouring the country to take possession of it as belonging to his jurisdiction. De Garay in vain resisted this pretension, and claimed it as belonging to Paraguay, in right of prior possession and settlement: the others insisting with a superior force, he had no alternative but to temporise, and submit himself to Cabrera's orders, trusting to the higher powers to settle the dispute.

Fortunately all question as to this was almost immediately afterwards set at rest by the arrival of the Adelantado Zarate from Spain with a grant from the King, explicitly including in his government all settlements which might be founded on either shore of the Paraná for the distance of 200 leagues inland.

What proved of still more consequence was the power with which De Garay was subsequently invested, and which enabled him to carry out his own well-conceived plans, and to found the city of Buenos Ayres, the crowning work of the conquest.

## THE PROVINCE OF SANTA FÉ

Now so called, during the Spanish rule was always considered as part and portion of the jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres: in the domestic dissensions, however, which succeeded the establishment of the independent Government at Buenos Ayres, Santa Fé took an active part, and disputed the right of the newly-constituted authorities to interfere in the nomination of the provincial administrations. Under these circumstances, in 1818, Lopez, a military officer who had particularly distinguished himself in his resistance to the Central Government upon this point, obtained the command of the province, and virtually established its independence of the capital. The jurisdiction claimed by the Government of Santa Fé extends as far south as the Arroyo del Medio, to the west to the lakes of Porongos, and to the north as far as the lands of the Indians of the Gran Chaco.

In former times Santa Fé, under the protection of the Government of Buenos Ayres, which spared no expense in constructing forts and maintaining the forces requisite to keep the Indians in check, was the central point of communication not only between that city and Paraguay, but between Paraguay and the provinces of Cuyo and Tucuman: the wines and dried fruits of Mendoza and St. Juan were brought there to be carried up to Corrientes and Paraguay, which in return supplied the people of those provinces, as well as those of Chile and Peru, with all the yerba maté they required, of which the annual consumption in those countries alone was calculated at from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 lbs.

The *estancieros* were amongst the richest in the Vice-Royalty; and their cattle-farms not only covered the territory of Santa Fé, but large tracts on the eastern shores of the river in the province of Entre Rios; from which



they furnished by far the greater part of the 50,000 mules yearly sent to Salta for the service of the Alto Peruvian provinces.

Their situation is now a very different one: the interruption of the trade with Paraguay and Bolivia has reduced them to a state of wretched poverty; and their estrangement from the capital having left them without adequate means of defence, the savages of the Gran Chaco have attacked them with impunity, laid waste the greater part of the province, and more than once threatened the town itself with annihilation.

The population has greatly diminished:—perhaps in the whole province there are not now more than from 15,000 to 20,000 souls, a large proportion of which is of Guarani origin, the descendants of emigrants from the Jesuit missions in Paraguay, who abandoned them after the expulsion of their pastors in 1768.

There is little reason to doubt but that Santa Fé might, under a different system, become one of the most important points of the Republic: if once more under the immediate protection of the Government of Buenos Ayres, not only might its own particular interests be greatly advanced, but very considerable benefits might result to some of the Upper provinces.

Its situation offers striking facilities for improving the transit-trade between Buenos Ayres and the provinces north of Cordova. The river Salado, on which it stands, has been ascertained to be navigable for barges as high up as Matara, in the province of Santiago, and at no great distance from the city of the same name: if this inland navigation was made use of, there would be a saving of upwards of 250 leagues of land-carriage in conveying goods from Buenos Ayres to Santiago; but, even if this should turn out not to be so practicable as it is said to be, a direct road is open from Santa Fé, which, passing by the lakes of Porongos, skirts the Rio Dulce, and falls into the high road from Cordova a few posts south of the city of Santiago; which, at the lowest computation, would still shorten by 100 leagues the over-land route now used between the capital and the Upper Provinces.

In any part of the world such a saving of land-carriage would be an object; but in a country where the roads are just as nature has made them, and where the only mode of transport for heavy goods is by the most unwieldy of primitive waggons, drawn by oxen—the slowest of all conveyances—and attended with great risk and expense, it becomes of serious importance. That it has not hitherto been available, is owing to the difficulty attending the navigation of a large river, not only against the current, but against a prevalent contrary wind, which has rendered the passage of the Paraná up to Santa Fé even more tedious and expensive than the long overland journey.

But the introduction of steam-vessels would at once obviate this, and enable the people of Buenos Ayres to send their heaviest goods to Santa Fé by water in less time than a horse can now gallop over the intervening country; for there is no reason why the voyage thither, under ordinary circumstances, should exceed at the utmost three days. I can hardly imagine a greater change in the commercial and industrial prospects of a people than this would open to the Santa Fécinos.

With the establishment of steam-navigation, distance will cease to be such, and these remote provinces will find a cheap and ready outlet for an abundance of their productions which cannot bear the heavy charges of sending them down by land to Buenos Ayres. It is of all others, perhaps, the question the most important and worthy of the attention of those who are intrusted with the government of these countries, as I have already pointed out, and in the early settlement of which their commerce, civilization, and future political destinies are involved, to an extent far beyond the comprehension of any casual observer.

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## PROVINCE OF ENTRE RIOS.

THE territory of Entre Rios, so called from its being almost entirely enclosed by rivers—on three sides by the Paraná, and on the east by the Uruguay—like Santa Fé, formed part of the intendency of Buenos Ayres till the year 1814, when the general government divided it into two distinct provinces, Entre Rios and Corrientes. The boundary line between them, as at present agreed upon, is the little river Guayquiraro, which falls into the Paraná in about lat.  $30^{\circ} 30'$ , and the Mocoreta, which runs in the opposite direction into the Uruguay.

Opposite to the city of Santa Fé, on the left bank of the river, is the Bajada or Villa del Paraná, the capital of the province of Entre Rios—raised to the rank of a villa, or city, with a cabildo and municipal rights, by a decree of the Assembly in 1813.

The province so called is subdivided by the river Gualaguay into two departments, that of the Paraná and that of the Uruguay.

According to the Provisional Reglamento or Constitution drawn up in 1821, in imitation of that of Buenos Ayres, the governor should be chosen every two years by a provincial junta, or assembly, composed of deputies from the several towns or villages, the principal of which, after the capital, are the Villa de la Concepcion on the Uruguay; and Nogoya, Gualaguay, and Gualaguaychú, on the rivers of the same name.

The population may be about 30,000 souls—very much scattered—and chiefly occupied in the estancias or cattle-farms, in which the wealth of the province almost entirely consists. Many of them belong to capitalists in Buenos Ayres:—they have the advantages of a never-failing supply of water, and of being safe from any inroads of the Indians—the two great desiderata for such establishments in that part of the world—whilst their proximity to Buenos Ayres ensures a ready sale for the produce.

These advantages made Entre Rios a great cattle producing country in the time of the Spaniards, but it was devastated and depopulated in the first years of the struggle for independence by the notorious Artigas and his followers, and became the scene of much bloodshed and confusion:—from that it had hardly begun to recover when the war which broke out between the Republic and Brazil for the possession of the Banda Oriental, again made it, as a frontier province, the theatre of military operations, and unsettled the habits of the population. The years which have elapsed since the conclusion of that struggle have sufficed once more to cover the province with cattle, and there are gauchos enough to take care of them.

What the *gauchos* are in the remote parts of these provinces has been graphically described by one who knew them well, and had seen more of them than most people. Although fifty years have elapsed since Azara's description was written, from all I have learned, the habits of these wild children of the plains in the heart of South America have little altered — half-savage, half-Christian, they are much the same in 1850 as they were in 1800, with the difference that then they only waged war on wild animals, now they have been taught to do so on one another.



(Gauchos and Cattle.)



## PROVINCE OF CORRIENTES.

THE population of the province of Corrientes in 1824 was estimated at from 35,000 to 40,000 inhabitants. It is ruled by a Governor elected by a junta of deputies. His official acts are countersigned by a secretary, and in law matters he is assisted by an officer termed the assessor—a point of form common, I believe, to all the provincial administrations, and derived from the practice of the “Intendentes” in the time of the Spanish Colonial Government. The people for the most part are of the same origin as their neighbours in Paraguay—speaking more Guarani than Spanish, and of much the same docile and simple character; indolent in their habits, and ignorant of all beyond their own little community.

The city of Las Siete Corrientes was begun in 1588, soon after De Garay founded his settlements at Santa Fé and Buenos Ayres. Its position is in lat.  $27^{\circ} 27'$ , at the junction of the rivers Paraná and Paraguay, and not more than ten leagues from where the Vermejo empties itself into the former: it affords, in consequence, every facility for an inland commercial intercourse with the most remote parts of the republic. The natural productions in these latitudes are similar to those of Brazil: cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar, indigo, and many other articles of the first importance in the markets of Europe, may be produced there in abundance, besides a large number of hides which are annually sent to Buenos Ayres for shipment to Europe.

The tobacco of Corrientes, like that of Paraguay, is mild and good, and capable of still further improvement under a better system of cultivation; and there is no doubt that considerable quantities of a superior quality, fit for the manufacture of cigars, might be obtained at much lower prices than are paid for that of the Havannah.

The cotton also is of good quality, but requires much more cleaning than the natives at present bestow upon it to make it fit for our markets. A new species of indigo called *yuyo* was many years ago made known by M. Boupland, as an article which might become very valuable in Europe.

Whenever the Paraná shall be navigated by steam-vessels, the productions of Corrientes and Paraguay will probably be sent to Buenos Ayres at such a diminished cost as may lead to a demand for them by foreign merchants; but the people of those countries must not continue to deceive themselves with the dream of Dr. Francia, that it can answer the purpose of the merchants of Europe to incur the unnecessary risks and expenses of sending their own vessels, so little adapted for the navigation of rivers, so many hundred miles into the interior of the South American continent in quest of a cargo which is at all times to be had in the sea-ports at their mouths.

A singular physical feature in this province is the vast marsh of Ybera, which, like those of Xarayes in the upper parts of the river Paraguay, is filled during the periodical rising of the Paraná, as is supposed, by some underground drainage, and inundates an immense tract of country, supplying four considerable rivers—the Mirinay, which runs into the Uruguay; and the Santa Lucia, the Bateles, and the Corrientes, which discharge themselves into the Paraná. It was Azara's opinion, from the general aspect of the country, that the Paraná itself at some former period took its course through this lake, and might at some time resume its ancient channel. At present it is hardly possible to explore any part of it, from the prodigious quantity of aquatic plants and shrubs by which it is covered in the greater part of its extent.

Connected with this lake there exists a tradition, handed down by early Spanish writers, of a nation of *pigmies*, who were said to have lived in islands in the midst of it: a tale which the first discoverers, who were generally as ignorant as they were brave, seem to have as implicitly believed as that a race of giants once occupied other parts of the same continent.

Both tales are easily traceable to their true origin.

The bones of extinct animals of monstrous size, so frequently met with, gave rise, as well they might, to the story of the giants. The *pigmies* are a race unfortunately not yet extinct, and are, I think, palpably the *ants*, whose marvellous works are no less calculated to have occasioned at first sight the most far-fetched conjectures as to their origin. I have made some allusion, in speaking of the course of the river Paraguay, to their ingenious contrivances in the lakes of Xarayes (where also the pigmy tribes were said to have dwelt); but those are nothing compared to the works of the ants of Corrientes and Paraguay, where whole plains are covered with their dome-like and conical edifices, rising five and six feet and more in height, and covered with a cement hard as rock, and impervious to the wet. Man's vanity might easily induce him to mistake them for works of his own species in miniature; but no buildings he has ever yet constructed, with all his art and ingenuity, are comparable to the works of these little insects. The Pyramids of Egypt do not bear one half the relative proportion to his own size which the ordinary habitations of these ants do to theirs.

Azara has described with great minuteness the various species which he examined—amongst others, one furnished with wings, swarms in such prodigious numbers, that he says he once rode for three leagues continuously through one mass of them. This was in about the latitude of Santa Fé, where they particularly abound, and where the people collect and eat them. The abdominal part, it seems, is very fat; and they fry them into a sort of omelette, or, mixed up with sugar, make sweetmeats of them.

They are a sad pest to the agriculturist, and a great nuisance when they get inside the houses. At Buenos Ayres I tried myself every means, but in vain, to get rid of them; no contrivance could preserve anything in the shape of sweetmeats or dried fruits from their attacks. The quantity of sugar they would carry off in a very short time was almost incredible. We thought to prevent this

by placing our stores upon tables, the legs of which were immersed in water; but they carried straws and twigs into the water, and so made themselves bridges to cross upon. If we hung them from the ceiling, they climbed the walls and descended by the ropes which suspended them. In our garden they were extremely destructive; and in the summer-season it was always necessary to keep people constantly and solely employed in destroying their nests. We observed that they could not exist in the sun; so that, if a basin of sugar were half filled with them, as was frequently the case, by placing it in the sunshine it was almost immediately emptied.

In Paraguay, about Villa Rica, they deposit upon certain plants small globules of white wax, which the inhabitants collect to make candles of, the value of which in some measure compensates for the damage they do to the husbandman.

Against their depredations, St. Simon, and St. Jude, and St. Bonifacio \* have been by turns elected in due form to be the special guardians and protectors of all good Catholics: their aid, however, would avail but little if an all-wise Providence had not provided a much more efficient protector in the ant-bear (*Myrmecophaga Jubata*), expressly adapted, by its habits and organization, to keep down such a plague, and prevent their carrying off all the fruits of the land.

That extraordinary animal, slow and sluggish in all its movements, without power of escape, and apparently without ordinary means of self-defence, its long, trumpet-shaped snout solely formed to contain the singular prehensile organ with which it is furnished for the purpose of taking its diminutive prey, being entirely destitute of anything like the teeth of other animals, would itself be speedily exterminated by the beasts of prey which abound where it is found, were it not—as if to compensate for these deficiencies—providentially supplied with strong sharp claws, and such courage and muscular power to use them

\* The same saints are invoked to keep down the rats—another plague of these countries—attracted, no doubt, by the smell of beef everywhere, as they are in

the *abattoirs* of Paris. The eleven thousand Virgins were the guardian angels against the locusts.



as enables it to defy every assailant. When attacked, it throws itself upon its back, and in that posture will make so desperate a resistance, that it is more than a match for the jaguar, its fiercest enemy.

The ants are not the worst plagues in these countries: the damage they occasion is not to be compared with that of the locusts, though happily they are only occasional visitors. Indeed, were it otherwise, all man's labour would be vain. When they do come, they lay the land utterly desolate.

I once witnessed one of their visitations, and had I not myself seen the extent of the devastation caused by them, I certainly could not have believed it.

They made their appearance at first in a large dense cloud, hovering high in the air, as if hesitating where to descend. All the shovels and pots and pans which could be collected were put in requisition to make a clatter to frighten them away, but in vain: down they came, to the consternation of the owners of every quinta, or garden, in the neighbourhood. They soon spread for several miles over the surface of the land, and so thickly that in a carriage it was as driving over a bed of gravel to go amongst them: such I well remember was my first impression on going out upon the high road whilst they were on the ground. They had then been at their work of destruction two or three days, and were for the most part so gorged as to be quite incapable of moving: in a day or two more they had not left a blade of grass or a green leaf within sight; some of those that were not then dying of satiety began to devour one another. This was early in the year 1826.

Another and a terrible scourge are the swarms of musquitoes which hang for ever over the low lands and about the rivers, and seem to delight in human blood and suffering. Woe be to him who ascends the Paraná unprepared for them!—a swarm of hornets is not worse than one of these venomous insects. The effects of their bites upon strangers are truly frightful; their appetites, like those of fish, seem sharpest after rain, when they swarm in clouds within a certain distance of the surface of the

waters, and are only to be avoided by keeping high above them. The natives clamber up trees at night; and sailors sleep in the tops as the only means of escaping from them in their voyages up and down the river. As Azara says, in an account of one of his journeys into Paraguay, "Man, to live in the regions infested by these venomous insects, should be amphibious, and clothed in armour like the caymans and crocodiles."

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## THE OLD MISSIONS OF THE JESUITS.

To the eastward of Corrientes are the depopulated ruins, all that remain, of the once famed Missions of the Jesuits, the greater part of which were situated on the shores of the Paraná and Uruguay, where the courses of those rivers nearly meet.

When the Order was expelled from South America in 1767, there were in these districts a population of one hundred thousand persons, inhabiting thirty towns, under their control. In those situated east of the Paraná, not a thousand souls remained in 1825, according to an account I received from the officer who was in command there at that period; and they were, I believe, shortly afterwards swept off during the war with Brazil for the occupation of the Banda Oriental.

This was that *imperium in imperio* which once excited the astonishment of the world and the jealousy of princes: how little cause they had to be alarmed by it was best proved by the whole fabric falling to pieces on the removal of a few poor old priests. A more inoffensive community never existed.

It was an experiment on a vast scale, originating in the purest spirit of Christianity, to civilize and render useful hordes of savages who otherwise would, like the rest of the aborigines, have been miserably exterminated in war or slavery by the European colonists and their descendants. Its remarkable success excited envy and jealousy, and caused a thousand idle stories to be circulated as to the political views of the Jesuits in founding such establishments, which unfortunately gained too easy credence at a time when the public mind was much irritated against their encroachments at home, and contributed, there is no doubt, to hasten the downfall of their Order.

Nothing could be more inconsistent than the allegations made against them: whilst accused, on the one hand, of aiming at the establishment of a powerful and independent

supremacy, they were, on the other, and at the same time, reproached with having systematically kept the Indians in a state of childish helplessness and ignorance.

The Indians were much attached to the Jesuits, and looked on them as their fathers; and great and sincere were their lamentations when they were taken from them, and replaced by the Franciscan friars sent to them by Bucareli, the Captain General of Buenos Ayres. The following touching memorial, addressed to him from the Mission of San Luis, will serve to throw some light on the true feelings of the people with regard to their old and new pastors.

I have given a copy of the original in Guarani in the Appendix, as a specimen of a language which, of all the native idioms, was the most diffused in South America, and which, to this day, may be traced from the banks of the Paraná to those of the Amazons.

#### No. I.

*Translation of a Memorial addressed by the people of the Mission of San Luis to the Governor of Buenos Ayres, praying that the Jesuits may remain with them instead of the Friars sent to replace them.*

(J. H. S.)

“God preserve your Excellency, say we, the Cabildo, and all the Caciques and Indians, men, women, and children, of San Luis, as your Excellency is our father. The Corregidor Santiago Pindo and Don Pantaleon Cayuari, in their love for us, have written to us for certain birds which they desire we will send them for the King:—we are very sorry not to have them to send, inasmuch as they live where God made them—in the forests,—and fly far away from us, so that we cannot catch them.

“Withal we are the vassals of God and of the King, and always desirous to fulfil the wishes of his ministers in what they desire of us. Have we not been three times as far as Colonia with our aid?—and do we not labour in order to pay tribute?—and now we pray to God that that



best of birds—the Holy Ghost—may descend upon the King, and enlighten him, and may the Holy Angel preserve him!

“So, confiding in your Excellency, Señor Governor, our proper father, with all humility, and with tears, we beg that the Sons of St. Ignatius, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, may continue to live with us and remain always amongst us. This we beg your Excellency to supplicate of the King for us for the love of God:—all this people,—men, women, and young persons, and especially the poor,—pray for the same with tears in their eyes.

“As for the friars and priests sent to replace them, we love them not. The Apostle St. Thomas, the minister of God, so taught our forefathers in these same parts,—for these friars and priests have no care for us. The sons of St. Ignatius, yes,—they, from the very first, took care of our forefathers, and taught them, and baptized them, and preserved them for God and the King:—but for these friars and priests, in no manner do we wish for them.

“The Fathers of the Society of Jesus know how to bear with our weaknesses, and we were happy under them for God’s sake and the King’s:—if your Excellency, good Señor Governor, will listen to our prayer, and grant our request, we will pay larger tribute in the *yerba caa-mini*.\*

“We are not slaves, and we desire to say that the Spanish custom is not to our liking,—for every one to take care of himself, instead of assisting one another in their daily labours.† This is the plain truth which we say to your Excellency, that it may be attended to:—if it is not, this people, like the rest, will be lost. This to your Excellency, to the King, and to God,—we shall go to the Devil!—and at the hour of our death where will be our help?

“Our children, who are in the country and in the towns, when they return and find not the Sons of St. Ignatius, will flee away to the deserts and to the forests to

\* The best sort of Paraguay tea, in which the Indians paid their annual tribute to the Crown.

† The Indians, under the system of the

Jesuits, were accustomed to work in community for a common stock, out of which all the wants of every individual were regularly and adequately provided for.

do evil. Already it would seem that the people of St. Joaquim, St. Estanislau, St. Ferdinand, and Tymbo, are lost,—we know it well, and we say so to your Excellency:—neither can the Cabildos ever restore these people for God and the King as they were.

“So, good Governor, grant us what we ask,—and may God help and keep you. This is what we say in the name of the people of San Luis, this 28th of February, 1768.

“Your humble servants and children.”

(Signed by the members of the municipality.)

Bucareli, on receipt of this simple document, sent it to Spain, with the ridiculous announcement that he considered it as the forerunner of a rising in favour of the Jesuits, and had, in consequence, ordered a chosen body of troops to proceed immediately from Paraguay and Corrientes to the neighbourhood of the Missions to be in readiness to put down the expected insurrection: thither, too, he proceeded himself to take the field in person against the rebels.

He found them not in arms, but in tears. The Jesuits, though he could not believe it, had brought up the Indians in obedience, and in the love of their King as well as of God; and, having said their say, they resigned themselves submissively to the orders of their newly-appointed superiors,—giving thanks to the King for having sent a personage of such importance as Bucareli to take care of them. Bucareli met, in fact, with not the slightest opposition from the Indians in substituting his own system of administration for that of the Jesuits, which he had been amongst the foremost to find fault with.

The efficacy of his own measures may be judged by their result. He sent them civil governors, and appointed Franciscan friars for their spiritual pastors:—the misrule of the first, and the little respect inspired by the latter, compared with the uniformly exemplary lives of their predecessors, brought about, in little more than a quarter of a century, the entire ruin and depopulation of these once happy and prosperous communities. The Indians, as they themselves predicted in their letter to him, when

there was no longer sufficient wisdom in their governors to prevent it, were lost both to God and the King.

In saying this, I do not pretend to dispute that the institutions of the Jesuits were not, in many points, defective, like all others of man's invention: they were, however, framed under very remarkable and novel circumstances, for which great allowances must be made in any comparison of them with the social systems of Europe. If we look at the good which they did, rather than for the evil which they did not, we shall find that, in the course of about a century and a half, upwards of a million of Indians were converted to Christianity by them, and taught to be happy and contented under the mild and peaceful rule of their enlightened and paternal pastors—a blessed lot when contrasted with the savage condition of the unreclaimed tribes around them.

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## PARAGUAY,

strictly speaking, has no place in this work, assuming, as it does at present, to be a distinct and separate Republic; but after describing the Missions, it is impossible to pass so near it without some allusion to its former prosperity, and to its very singular condition under the despotic rule of Dr. Francia and his successors.

It was in Paraguay that the first Conquerors of the country fixed their abode and the seat of their Government; it was there also, attracted by the same inducements of a genial clime and a profusion of natural productions to satisfy all man's wants, that the Jesuit fathers laid the original foundations of those celebrated establishments just spoken of. Its population, before it ceased to be a province dependent on the government of Buenos Ayres, was estimated at 200,000 souls;\* and the yearly value of its surplus produce, exported for consumption to the capital and the interior provinces, fell little short of a million and a half of dollars. Eight millions of pounds of Paraguay tea were annually sent to Santa Fé and Buenos Ayres, besides a million of pounds of tobacco, large quantities of various kinds of valuable timber, cotton, sugar, molasses, spirits, and a variety of other articles.

The duties on the export of tobacco alone yielded 60,000 dollars yearly, till the Spanish Government monopolised the sale of it, and by restrictive regulations greatly diminished the quantity consumed. From 15,000 quintals previously sent to Spain—under the “Regia,” or royal monopoly, the quantity fell to 5,000.

The yerba-maté, or tea, which forms the principal article in the list, is as much in general use throughout all the provinces of La Plata, Chile, and many parts of Peru, as the teas of China are in Europe. The

\* From an article given apparently on authority in the “*Archivo Americano*” for 1846, at Buenos Ayres, it appears that, according to a census of the population

made previously to Francia's death, the inhabitants of Paraguay amounted to about 220,000 souls, including the christianized Indians (*Reducciones*).



plant which produces it (the *Ilex Paraguayensis*) is an evergreen about the size of an orange-tree, which grows wild and in great abundance in the dense forests in the northern and eastern parts of the province, whither the people repair every year in numerous gangs to collect it. The difficulties of penetrating the woods to reach the *yerbales*, as they are called, are considerable, but they are amply repaid by the certain profits of the adventure. The whole process of preparing and packing it for market is performed on the spot. The tender branches and twigs, being selected, are roasted quickly over a fire till the leaves are crisp; and then, after being partially crushed or pounded, are compressed into bags, made of raw hide, called *serrons*, containing 200 lbs. each, which, when sown up, are ready for sale.

The Jesuits cultivated the plant, of which there are three varieties, in their Missions; and by attention produced a better quality of tea than that from the wild plant collected in the woods, called *caa-mini*, or "the little leaf," which is produced by the smallest variety of the plant.

From the practice of reducing the leaf nearly to powder probably originated the general custom in South America of sucking its infusion through a tube, at one end of which is a strainer, to prevent the smaller particles of the tea-leaves from getting into the mouth. It is usually made very strong, very hot, and highly sweetened with sugar: its properties seem to be much the same as those of the Chinese tea. The Spaniards learned to use it from the Guarani Indians, as they did the well-known mandioca or cassava root, of which the natives made their bread, and which continues to this day to be their principal article of food.

According to Azara, silk might be produced in any quantity, for the mulberry tree is indigenous. The same may be said of the cacao, and the coffee plant, a recent introduction, which grows here, as in Brazil, most luxuriantly.

When the Vice-regal power was overthrown in 1810, the province of Paraguay refused to acknowledge the central government established at Buenos Ayres, and an army was in consequence sent to reduce it to obedience; but the Paraguay troops defeated the Buenos Ayrean

general, Belgrano, who was glad to capitulate, and be permitted to return whence he came. Emboldened by this success, which gave them an idea of their own consequence beyond any they had before entertained, they proceeded at once to assert their absolute independence, not only of Buenos Ayres, but of the mother country, and to declare Paraguay a free and sovereign state—a step beyond any at that time contemplated, perhaps even by the rulers of Buenos Ayres themselves, who, though self-elected, continued to act in the King's name up to 1816, the date of the declaration of their independence at Tucuman.

This proclamation of the independence of Paraguay was followed in the first instance by the setting up of a triumvirate government, of which Francia was the secretary, and soon became the secret mover of the whole machine. He was not long ere he set the members of the government by the ears, and by his intrigues brought about their resignation.

Then came the convocation of a general assembly of deputies from all the towns and villages of the province, to consider what was to be done under the circumstances. By these poor ignorant people thus dragged from their homes, Francia, a person in authority, a lawyer, or learned man,—for the terms are synonymous in the language of Paraguay,—living like an ascetic, and affecting a sort of cabalistical knowledge, was looked upon with a kind of reverential awe, as a person of wonderful acquirements and sagacity, whose opinions were eagerly sought to guide them in the weighty matters they were called upon to discuss, whilst on his own part he was not behindhand in maturing his plans and securing his influence.

When the Congress met, he laid before it the plan of a government, which, as he anticipated, was regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of wisdom, and was adopted by acclamation (*por aclamacion*). According to this arrangement—Constitution he called it—the Supreme Government was vested in two consuls, himself and another, named Yegros, with unlimited powers, to be supported by an armed force, divided equally between them.

In the event of the death or resignation of either of

them, it was provided "that a General Congress of *one thousand* Deputies, chosen by the people, was to assemble within a month to deliberate on what might be most conducive to the public good—to amend if necessary the form of government, to provide remedies for abuses, and to take all such measures as might be suggested by the wisdom of experience."

Francia, having thus obtained one-half the power he aimed at, was not long ere he secured the other: his colleague resigned; and when the thousand deputies met, it was intimated to them that the substitution of one Governor for a pair of Consuls would be a great improvement; and Don Gaspar was, as a matter of course, elected sole Dictator of the Republic of Paraguay.

His nomination in the first instance was for three years; at the expiration of which he took care to have his power confirmed for life. The Deputies who passed this act, in their simplicity, returned to their homes exulting in an arrangement whereby they had saved themselves all further trouble, whilst the tyrant they had set up commenced a reign which, for systematic selfishness, cruelty, and unrestrained despotism, is almost unparalleled in the history of any country.

His first object was to put down all opposition; which he did most effectually by imprisoning, banishing, or putting to death every individual of wealth or influence who could in any way interfere with him in the exercise of his despotic sway. His spies were in every house; the most trivial expression of dissatisfaction was construed into treason; and ere long no man dared to speak to his neighbour for fear of being denounced: thus he silenced by terror all opposition from within; and, lest any should be attempted from without, he proceeded to restrict the communication with the adjoining provinces, and at last to establish a system of non-intercourse, which was for more than twenty-five years rigorously enforced till his death in 1840.

The only trade, if trade it could be called, which was permitted, was carried on upon his own account, and in a manner to further his own policy of habituating the lower classes to look to him, and to him only, for the

supply of all their wants. His mode of managing this was as singular as all the rest of his proceedings. When he wanted an assortment of foreign goods, a permit was sent over to the adjoining province of Corrientes for a vessel to proceed to the opposite port of Nembucú; on her arrival there, the invoice of the cargo was immediately forwarded to him at Assumption, from which, after selecting such articles as he required, he used to order a quantity of yerba-maté to be put on board in payment. There was no appeal from his own valuation: no one was allowed to go on shore, and the ship was sent back as soon as the yerba was delivered:—the article itself was in such demand, from his having stopped the trade in it, that the people of Corrientes were glad to get it upon his own terms. He was the owner of several shops, or stores, in Assumption, from which the goods were afterwards re-tailed, by his permission, to those who might want them.

His revenue was chiefly derived from properties confiscated by his own arbitrary proceedings, and from tithes in kind upon all articles of produce, the right to levy which was yearly sold by the government to the highest bidder in each department; the contractors generally underlet them to others, and they were in consequence rigorously exacted.\* His principal expenditure was for the maintenance of a large militia force, in which every person capable of bearing arms was enrolled and called upon to do duty in turn. Francia was of course commander-in-chief of the army, as he was the head of the church, the law, and every other branch of the administration.

When I arrived at Buenos Ayres, in 1824, I found that many British subjects had been for several years detained in Paraguay by this despot against their will; and it became my duty in consequence to make a representation to him upon the subject, and to apply for their liberation. This I was fortunate enough to obtain, together with the release of some other Europeans, who were permitted at the same time to depart; amongst the rest

\* A commutation of these tithes for a fixed revenue was agreed upon between the church and the municipal government of Assumption at an early period of the Spanish rule in that country.



Messrs. Rengger and Longchamps, two Swiss gentlemen, who have since published an interesting account of their detention, and of the state of the country.\*

He made an exception of M. Bonpland, the well-known companion of Baron Humboldt, whom he had some years before caused to be seized and carried off by an armed force, sent across the Paraná, whilst engaged in his own inoffensive pursuits as a botanist in the province of Corrientes. As there was no accredited French agent at Buenos Ayres at the time, I took upon myself to make another application to Francia, in favour of an individual in whose fate I could justly say that the scientific world of every country was interested; offering to guarantee the fulfilment of any promise M. Bonpland might himself choose to make, in case of his liberation, to return at once to Europe. I wrote in the same sense to M. Bonpland, and enclosed my letter, open, to the Dictator, to forward to its destination if he approved of it; but, instead of doing so, he returned it to me, with a rude intimation that that must close our correspondence.†

It appeared that he was disappointed at finding that I could not concur with him in his notion of the advantage of opening a direct trade between Great Britain and Paraguay, on which he had set his heart, more especially as he expected thereby to be able to show to his own subjects his independence of his neighbours, and particularly of the Buenos Ayreans.

Francia died rather suddenly of apoplexy, at the age of eighty-five, in September, 1840. At his death there were between 700 and 800 individuals in the several prisons of Assumption, some in dungeons loaded with irons, who had been there more than twenty years without even being informed of the cause of their arrest; but the number of his prisoners mattered little to Francia, for he never gave them anything to eat, their friends and relations being obliged to support them whilst in confinement. A list of

\* The Reign of Don Gaspar de Francia in Paraguay, being an account of a Six Years' Residence in that Republic, by Messrs. Rengger and Longchamps, translated, 1827.

† M. Bonpland was subsequently and quite unexpectedly set at liberty by Francia, after a detention of nine years.

fifty persons destined by him to be shot was found amongst his papers.

These facts appear in a report drawn up by Colonel Graham, the Consul of the United States at Buenos Ayres, who proceeded on an official mission to Paraguay in 1845, and collected some interesting information relative to the state of the country and people after Francia's death. With respect to the cruelty and oppression of that extraordinary despot, it would appear that nothing related of him has been exaggerated—a more bloody and unscrupulous tyrant never existed. Colonel Graham says he could fill a volume with the details of his deeds of cruelty; he could not go into any respectable house in Assumption without hearing of some act of his tyranny towards one or more members of the family.

It had been supposed that when Francia died, Paraguay would have again joined the confederation of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, but as yet that is not the case; and it would appear that there is a party there not only ambitious of maintaining their independence of their neighbours, but, what is still more extraordinary, disposed to continue a system of isolation and tyranny little short of that established by Francia.

The present governor of the country is one Lopez, who, after a struggle with other parties who had seized the government on Francia's death, was placed by the soldiery at their head in 1841, and three years after was made president of the Republic of Paraguay, as it is called, for ten years, by a Congress, very much in the same manner as Francia was elected to the same office in 1813.

It would seem indeed that the Paraguayans have been so habituated to a despotism, that they have no ideas or wishes beyond it. More Indian than Spanish in their habits, as well as origin, living in an enervating climate,\* where the necessaries of life are produced with the smallest

\* At Assumption in the summer season the ordinary height of the thermometer is 85°; in days of extraordinary heat it is occasionally at 100°. In winter it falls to 45°; but the heat of the atmosphere appears much to depend on the wind: when from the north it is hot, and cold

when it blows from the south or south-east. A westerly wind is a most rare occurrence, and never lasts a couple of hours: it would seem as if it was stopped by the great wall of the Andes, although 200 leagues distant.—*Azara*.

possible amount of labour, their wants are very few and easily satisfied,—the scanty clothing, if clothing it can be called, which is worn by the lower orders is made of cotton grown and woven by themselves—and even that by all accounts is often more than they can bear in so hot a climate. Colonel Graham says he saw many boys and girls of ten or twelve years old, in the country, entirely naked, with the strange exception that the boys had hats on, in obedience to a decree of Francia, that they might be ready at all times to make due obeisance to their superiors. Their food is of the simplest kind—generally of mandioca, or maize, oranges and other fruits; their only luxuries caña, a spirit distilled from honey, and cigars, without which no Paraguayan can exist.

Every kind of agricultural or manufacturing labour is performed in the most primitive manner. Their ploughs are made of wood, unshod with iron; cotton is cleaned and spun by hand, and generally wove by itinerant manufacturers who carry about on horseback a portable loom, which they tie to a tree wherever it may be requisite to set it up for use.

The juice of the sugar-cane is pressed out by a wooden mill, like a common cyder-press, and is afterwards boiled till the saccharine matter exudes in earthen pans. Wheat-flour is made by moistening the grain, and beating it out with a pestle and mortar. Rice, though of good quality, cannot be cleansed so as to be marketable. Bark for tanning is broken and crushed by grindstones turned by mules. In fact the habits of these people seem in no way to have altered since they were described by Azara fifty years ago.\* Shut out by their inland position from all

\* "La fainéantise et la paresse générales, la cherté des journées, le goût pour la destruction et le gaspillage qui caractérise les habitans du pays, leur peu de besoins, leur défaut d'ambition, l'esprit chevaleresque qui dédaigne et méprise même toute espèce de travail, le manque d'instruction, la nullité des Gouverneurs, et l'incroyable imperfection des instrumens, contribuent à rendre presque impossible toute espèce d'amélioration. Au Paraguay et aux Missions on n'a d'autres pioches que de gros os de cheval

ou de vache, que l'on ajuste au bout d'un manche. La charrue se réduit à un bâton pointu, que chacun arrange à sa manière. Il en est de même du joug et des autres ustensiles de labourage: il est vrai qu'il en arrive autant dans presque tous les métiers; l'orfèvre fabrique ses creusets; le musicien ses cordes et sa guitare; et dans chaque maison particulière on fait la chandelle, le savon, les confitures, les remèdes, les teintures, enfin tout ce dont on a besoin."—*Azara*, vol. i. cap. 6.

intercourse with the people of other countries, they seem content to remain unknowing and unknown, in that happy state described by the poet—

“Where ignorance is bliss,  
And folly to be wise.”

Notwithstanding some magniloquent proclamations of the Governors, after Francia's death, of their desire to open Paraguay to all the world, the little town of Nembucú, about twenty leagues above Corrientes, is still the only place to which foreigners are permitted to resort without a special licence from the President. Colonel Graham himself, although charged with a special mission to him, was kept there twenty days before he received his permission to go on to Assumption, the capital, distant about 150 miles.

The greater part of the road thither runs through a region of swamps, which at times being inundated, renders it necessary to make a circuit of double the distance. About thirty miles from the city, where the road approaches the river Paraguay, near the Angostura, the aspect of the country improves, it becomes more elevated, and is well peopled—the inhabitants chiefly engaged in growing mandioca, tobacco, cotton, and sugar-canes, which are all produced there in great abundance, though by the rudest possible processes of culture.

The city of Assumption is situated on a low sandy soil, encircled by hills, with a frontage to the river. The population is estimated at from 8000 to 10,000 souls. Half a century ago it amounted to more than 7000, according to Azara.\* The port is convenient, and vessels may moor close to the shore. The principal exports of the country, yerba, tobacco, and hides, are chiefly collected there to be reshipped in sloops and schooners and other small craft for Nembucú, the only port, as already stated, with which foreigners are permitted to trade.

With respect to the extent of the commercial capabilities of this country, Colonel Graham's opinions may be

\* Some statistics of the population of Paraguay, recently published with the census previously mentioned in the “*Archivo Americano*,” are interesting, as showing the mortality occasioned there by

certain disorders. Dysentery, in the 10 years previous to 1840, was fatal to about 20,000 persons. In 1836–38, 11,000 died of scarlet fever; and in 1844–45, the small-pox carried off nearly 14,000.



best given in his own words. "Paraguay," he says, "possesses in many parts a fertile and productive territory; and were its resources developed, and encouragement given to the industry of its inhabitants, it might become a comparatively wealthy part of South America, *but it could never support an active trade excepting with the adjoining States.* Yerba, the tea of Paraguay, its chief product, is only consumed in South America; its fine woods would not bear the expense of transport to Europe; its sugar, tobacco, cotton, and rice, on account of the distance which they would have to be conveyed from the interior, even were the Paraná open, could never enter into competition with those of Brazil and the United States: its chief market, therefore, would always be (as heretofore) the countries watered by the Paraná and the Salado.

"The consumption of foreign manufactured goods is now and must always continue to be very inconsiderable; at present the people purchase some articles of foreign hardware and cotton goods of ordinary quality, but the climate is so mild, and the manners of the people so simple, that the consumption is very limited. *If the Paraná were declared open to all nations, the United States could not carry on any direct intercourse with Paraguay under its own flag. The vessels adapted for crossing the ocean would not go up the Paraná, and merchandise would have to be re-embarked at the mouth of the river in craft suitable to its navigation, and owned by parties resident in the country.*"

Mr. Graham's observations are equally applicable to the shipping of European nations, and they cannot too often be repeated for the information of parties embarking in trade with those remote countries.

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## THE UPPER PROVINCES.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

CORDOVA.

LA RIOJA.

SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO.

TUCUMAN.

CATAMARCA.

SALTA.

It may be as well here to remind the reader that the Upper Provinces, *Las Provincias Arribeñas*, were not originally conquered or settled by the discoverers of the Río de la Plata, although they formed part of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres previous to their independence. Their Conquest was achieved by Spaniards from Peru, led thither in the first instance by information obtained by some of the followers of Almagro, when he separated from Pizarro to seek his fortunes and to found a new Government in Chile.

In 1543 Don Diego Rojas, with 300 followers, left Peru, and, marching south, entered the valley of Catamarca, and proceeded as far as the Sierra de Cordova, whence, turning east, they followed the course of the river Tercero to its junction with the Paraná, where they found a cross inscribed "*Cartas al pie*"—*Letters at foot*—upon digging for which they discovered a paper written by Yrala, giving an account of his conquests and settlement at Assumption; and thither they would have proceeded to join him, but for a bloody strife which arose amongst their leaders for the command, after Rojas had been slain in an encounter with the natives, which induced the survivors, already disgusted with the apparent poverty of the lands they had traversed, to insist upon being led back to Peru; nor was it till ten years afterwards that

any other adventurers could be induced to endeavour to explore regions of which they had given such a poor account.

When Pedro de la Gasca had put down the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, and restored the King's authority in Peru, one of his greatest difficulties, it will be remembered, was how to satisfy the demands of the chiefs who had assisted him, and particularly of those who had gained the unenviable notoriety of securing the victory of the King's officers by deserting the cause of their infatuated leader. Foremost amongst these were Diego Centeño, who was rewarded by being named Governor of Yrala's hard-earned conquests in Paraguay, as has been already mentioned; and Juan Nuñez de Prado, an individual also of some importance, who was commissioned to undertake the conquest and settlement of the lands in the far south, first discovered by Rojas and his party as above stated.

Prado started in 1550, and, following the route of Almagro and Rojas along the ancient road of the Incas which led through the mountain valleys to Chile, reached the lands of the Calchaqui nation, where, after forming an alliance with Tucumanahao, the principal Cacique in that country (called Tucuman after him), he commenced the first Spanish settlement in those parts, which he named Barco, in honour of La Gasca, who was a native of Barco de Avila.

Attempting afterwards to seduce some of the soldiers of Villagran, who had been sent to aid Don Pedro de Valdivia in his conquest of Chile, he brought upon himself the anger of that Chief, who sent one of his lieutenants, Aguirre, to supersede him in his newly-formed settlement, to which he laid claim as within the jurisdiction of his Government of Chile.

But the Spaniards, bent on reducing the Indian tribes to subjection, and dividing them by force into Encomiendas, after the manner adopted by the conquerors of Peru, met with a resistance they did not expect from the natives, who proved themselves a much more vigorous and warlike race than the effeminate Peruvians with whom they had been hitherto engaged. Their determined hostility indeed

obliged the invaders ere long, in 1553, to remove from Barco into the lower country, inhabited by a less warlike people, where, on the shores of the river Dulce, or Del Estero, they formed a new settlement under the name of Santiago del Estero, since the chief town of the province of that name.

Under Zurita, the successor of Aguirre, they returned to the territories of the Calchaquis, and founded the towns of Cañete, Cordova, and London—the latter so named in honour of the nuptials of our Queen Mary with Philip II. ; but after ten years of continual struggles with the natives, these places were also given up, and the Spaniards, again driven back to Santiago del Estero, from the mountain-valleys in which they had established themselves, commenced the foundation, in the plains below, of those towns which afterwards constituted what was called the Government of Tucuman.

In 1565 they founded the city of San Miguel de Tucuman, about 25 leagues north of Santiago, on a branch of the river Dulce. In 1567 “*Nuestra Señora de Talavera*,” or Esteco, was built, further to the north, upon a stream called the Rio de las Piedras, near its junction with the river Salado ; and in 1573 Don Luis de Cabrera, appointed Governor of those districts by the Viceroy of Peru, made an inroad into the lands to the south of Santiago del Estero, inhabited by the Comechingones Indians, in which he founded the city of Cordova, upon the river Primero, or, as it was then called, San Juan, hoping thence to be enabled to open a communication with the Rio de la Plata.

I have already mentioned in the last chapter how some of his followers fell in with De Garay, whilst engaged in founding his settlement of Santa Fé upon the Paraná ; and so, for the first time, brought the conquerors of Tucuman in contact with those of the Rio de la Plata.

Salta was founded in 1582, and Jujuy ten years after, when the necessity became urgent of insuring the safety of the communication between those new settlements and Peru.

For a long period after their foundation, the history of this portion of the Spanish conquests is little else but a

series of bloody quarrels between the first Conquerors for command—mostly rough and unprincipled adventurers, whom the Viceroy's were only too glad to employ at a distance—and of wars with the natives, whom their cruelties and oppressive regulations drove into rebellion against them.

They continued subject to the rule of the Viceroy's of Peru till 1776, when they were separated from that Government, and annexed to the newly-constituted Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres; about which time it was calculated that the population of Cordova, Santiago del Estero, Tucuman, Salta, and Jujuy did not much exceed 100,000 souls: in 1825, fifty years afterwards, it was supposed to have doubled.

Few settlements made by the Spaniards in South America have suffered greater vicissitudes than these cities and those founded in the adjoining provinces of Catamarca and La Rioja. Scarcely one of them remains standing on its original site. Many were abandoned, as above mentioned, at an early period of the conquest, from the determined hostility of the natives; others have suffered fearfully from the effects of inundations and earthquakes, which have obliged the inhabitants to shift their abodes.

One of the most awful of these visitations was in 1692, when the city of Esteco, which, from its position, had risen to be a place of some importance, was totally destroyed by a terrific earthquake, in which the earth opened and cast out a flood of waters, which inundated the whole place and left it a heap of ruins. Those of the inhabitants who escaped destruction by the earthquake were set upon and most of them slaughtered by the Indians. The Spaniards, believing the calamity to have been a judgment upon the people for their pride and irreligion, never attempted to restore the settlement, the precise site of which even is now a matter of dispute.

In my account of the several provinces, I have alluded to the disastrous visitations which almost all in turn have suffered. The last is of recent date, and appears to have been an awful one, extending throughout all the Upper Provinces, and most calamitous in its consequences. The

following particulars respecting it were read at the meeting of the British Association at Edinburgh in 1850 by Dr. M. Hamilton, from a paper entitled Notices of Earthquakes in South America in 1844-5-6-7:—

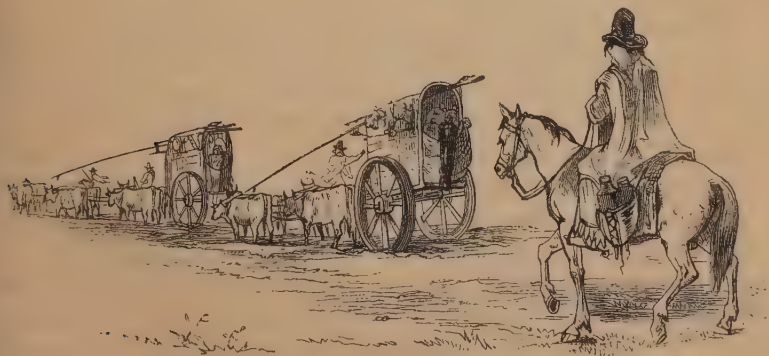
“On the 18th of October, 1844, at 10½ P.M., the provinces of Salta, Tucuman, Santiago del Estero, and others, experienced a terrible earthquake, which was felt over a tract above a thousand miles north and south, and several hundred miles wide. Every house in Salta was damaged, and many fell. At Jujuy and Tucuman the earthquake happened at the same time, reducing those towns to ruins. There were two great movements, and in the suburbs of Salta and other places the earth opened and exploded quantities of water and variously coloured sands.”

The distances by the road between these provinces are—

From Buenos Ayres to Cordova	192 leagues.
„ Cordova to Santiago . .	130 „
„ Santiago to Tucuman . .	40 „
„ Tucuman to Salta . .	90 „
„ Salta to Jujuy . . .	18 „

Buenos Ayres to Jujuy . . . 470 leagues.

The annexed woodcut will show how the ordinary traffic to and from these provinces is carried on.



(Tucuman Waggon.)

In these unwieldy waggons all the produce of the Upper Provinces is sent down to Buenos Ayres, and all the foreign goods required in exchange for their consumption are transported into the interior: they are chiefly built in Tucuman, of a very hard wood grown in that province, and cost about 50 Spanish dollars, or 10*l.* each.

Their stilt-like wheels and teams of oxen, harnessed in pairs at an extraordinary distance from each other, so strikingly characteristic of the country, indicate the casualties to which they are exposed; the gigantic height of the wheels is absolutely necessary to keep the goods high and dry above the marshes they have to traverse; and the lengthened traces are as requisite in the passage of swamps and rivers to enable the leading oxen to get through and upon dry land, the better to drag the wheelers and their load across the waters from the opposite side.

They generally travel in troops or caravans, consisting of fourteen waggons each, preferring to leave Salta for Buenos Ayres in the month of April or May, when the rivers are falling; and avoiding if possible being upon the road in the dry months of July, August, September, and October, when both water and pasturage are in many places scarce. They are from eighty to ninety days on the journey, rarely travelling more than fifteen miles a-day.

Each waggon is supposed to be capable of carrying from a ton and a half to two tons of goods, and the hire of a troop of fourteen costs—

From Salta to Buenos Ayres about	2800	dollars
And for the journey back . . .	2200	„

In all for the 14 carts out and home 5000 dollars

or about 1000*l.* sterling.

The calculation is, that they will be absent from ten to twelve months, six months being passed on the road, and the remainder of the time lost in halts and delays on the road and in waiting at Buenos Ayres to complete a return cargo.

Three relays of a hundred oxen are required for the fourteen waggons, besides horses in proportion for the drivers: the first takes them as far as Tucuman; thence an

additional thirty are wanted to reach the confines of Buenos Ayres, when they are again changed for a hundred fresh beasts, which complete the journey.

The number of men required to take care of such a troop of waggons is from twenty to twenty-five, besides the capitaz or principal conductor.

These particulars are taken from a calculation drawn up in order to show the enormous loss of time and labour, not to speak of the expense, of such a mode of conveyance when contrasted with steam-power, if once at work upon the rivers.

PROVINCE OF CORDOVA.

THE province of Cordova, after that of Buenos Ayres, is the most important of the Confederation. According to a census taken in 1822-23, the population then amounted to something more than 85,000 souls, of which from 12,000 to 14,000 lived in the city.

It is ruled by a Governor, who is elected by a provincial junta occasionally convoked, and whose power is almost arbitrary: he has the command of all the forces and militia of the province, and has the power of reversing, on appeal, all decisions of the tribunals.

It is bounded by the province of Santiago del Estero to the north, and Santa Fé to the east, and on the western side by the mountain-ranges generally known as the Sierra de Cordova, the highest point of which, "La Cuesta," is estimated to be about 2500 feet above the plains.

From these ranges descend many rivers and streams, which irrigate and fertilise the plains below; amongst which may be enumerated the Rio San Miguel, the Torral, the Carnero, the Primero, Segundo, Tercero, Cuarto, and Quinto: of these the Tercero is the only one which reaches the Paraná; all the rest are lost in the flat intervening plains. It has been ascertained that very little is requisite to render the Tercero navigable for boats from the Paraná to within about thirty leagues of the city, whereby a water-communication might be opened, which would save much of the present expensive and tedious land-carriage of the productions not only of Cordova, but of the provinces of Cuyo, to Buenos Ayres.

The perpetual irrigation of so many streams gives rise to a constant supply of excellent pasturage for cattle and sheep, the facility of rearing which may in some measure account for the preference evinced by the population for pastoral over agricultural pursuits. These habits lead to the country people being much scattered: they congregate but little in the towns; and the principal places

after the capital, Concepcion, Ranchos, and Carlota, are at the best but wretched villages. Wheat and maize are grown, but hides form the principal article of exchange with Buenos Ayres.

In travelling from Buenos Ayres, after passing the post of Frayle Muerto on the river Tercero, the aspect of the country begins to change: it becomes undulated, and at last there is an end of the monotonous scenery of the Pampas, throughout which not a tree is to be seen save the solitary Umbú, standing like a giant land-mark in the boundless plain.

The traveller's eye is relieved by the appearance of woods and forests, which become more dense as the mountain ranges of Cordova are approached. The trees are for the most part varieties of the mimosa family, thickly set with thorns; a peculiarity so marked in those parts, that I recollect a gentleman from thence, who came to Buenos Ayres whilst I was there, expressing something more than common surprise at finding that the greater part of the trees which grew in the gardens about the city, and which were probably chiefly of European origin, were not covered with thorns like those of his own province.

The palm-tree is scattered over the valleys in the northern part of the province, on the road to Santiago del Estero, and aloes and cacti are in the greatest abundance.

The City which gives its name to the Province was founded by the Conquerors of Tucuman in 1573; it is situated in lat. $31^{\circ} 26' 14''$, in a pleasant valley upon the banks of the river Primero, sheltered from the north and south winds, which, in the more exposed parts of the province blowing alternately hot and cold, produce great and sudden variations in the atmosphere, very trying to the constitutions of the inhabitants. It owes much to the Vice-Roy Sobremonte, who did what he could to improve it about the beginning of the present century.

Limestone and timber being obtainable in the immediate neighbourhood, the houses are generally better built than in other towns in the interior.

For many years after its foundation, the inhabitants were subjected to great inconvenience from the occasional overflowings of a lake in the neighbouring hills, until an earthquake swallowed up its waters, and drained it apparently for ever. Much damage, however, is still done by the mountain-torrents, which descend from the Sierra in the rainy season, and have made it necessary to build strong walls to preserve the city from being inundated at those times.

Mr. French, in a very interesting account of his travels in this part of South America, given in vol. ix. of the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," has very graphically described one of these visitations which took place in 1828:—"The waters," he says, "rushed from the mountains with a roar which was heard several leagues distant; the town was in imminent danger of destruction, and must have been swept away had not the river burst its natural bounds on the right bank: it laid the country under water for sixty miles southward, obliterating all the gardens and enclosures in the vicinity of the city, and covering them with a new stratum of sand. I was then," he adds, "on my way to Cordova from Buenos Ayres, and travelled with the water up to my horse's flanks. The swollen carcasses of drowned bis-cachas were to be seen in every direction floating on the waters for leagues."

Cordova contains a cathedral, many churches, and is the seat of an university, at which, in the time of the Spaniards, most of the better classes from all parts of the Vice-Royalty received their education: it was under the management of the Jesuits, to whom this city owes much of its importance. It was here they had their principal college (the Colegio Maximo); and they held large possessions in the neighbourhood, from whence they derived considerable revenues, the greater part of which were spent in the foundation and embellishment of the churches, and in other pious establishments. Here also they had a celebrated library, rich in manuscript records of their Missions and labours amongst the Indians, which upon their expulsion was sent to Buenos Ayres. The printed

books formed the nucleus of the present public library in that city; but the greater part of their manuscripts, and amongst the rest an unpublished portion of Father Guevara's History, has never since been seen:* it was generally believed at the time that they were either sent to Spain or destroyed by Bucareli, who was charged with the expulsion of the Order, a duty which he fulfilled with a harshness and illiberality never to be forgotten in a country which owes almost all it possesses in the shape of civilisation to the labours and example of that community.

Out of their confiscated property the University of Buenos Ayres was subsequently founded; and being more conveniently situated for the rising generation, it has in proportion diminished the importance of that of Cordova, which, though still kept up, has dwindled to the scale of a provincial school.

From the year 1699 Cordova was the residence of a bishop (removed from Tucuman), but the see has been vacant since the first years of the revolution.

The effects of the preponderating influence of the monastic establishments are still visible in the habits of the generality of the people; and though the ladies are not all nuns, their manners are much more reserved than those either of the capital or of the other principal provincial towns.

Implicitly crediting every legendary tale they have been taught by the priests, there is no end of the miracles which they believe have been wrought, not only for the conversion of the Indians, but for the moral improvement of their own progenitors. Saints and angels are believed to have been seen in all their glory fighting on the side of the Christians against the infidels; whilst their own peccadilloes have not passed without a judgment to keep them in remembrance.

The lax manner in which their ancestors kept their Friday fasts, preferring flesh to fish, contrary to the ordinances of the Church, they believe has been the cause

* I believe a great portion of them will be found in the old archives at Buenos Ayres; some of them, I know, were there

in 1830, to all appearance in the same state as when they were first tied up in bundles to be sent down from Cordova.

of the disappearance of an abundance of delicious fish once, but no longer, found in a neighbouring stream.* In the adjoining province of La Rioja the people, for their sins, have suffered a more serious loss from the olive trees ceasing to yield fruit, a punishment ascribed by the inhabitants to their having been tempted by the devil to sell at high prices the oil which should have been burnt in the churches.

Opposed to anything like religious toleration, they are persuaded that every misfortune which befalls the people of Buenos Ayres is a punishment upon them for having granted that boon to the English and other heretics.

But the simple manners and ignorance of the inhabitants of these remote regions are not to be wondered at, when it is recollected how little opportunity they have of knowing anything beyond what passes in the limited sphere in which they exist: nearly six hundred miles removed from Buenos Ayres, they must not be judged by the standard of that city, the people of which, being in daily habits of intercourse with those from all other countries, are in reality centuries in advance of them. Some of the men may have made an occasional visit to the capital; but as to the ladies, the little convenience there is for travelling in those countries makes it generally almost out of the question. How can they be otherwise than limited in their notions, and primitive in their habits and customs?

Living is very cheap and provisions abundant, the wants of the people few, and their hospitality to strangers unbounded.

Cordova forms a sort of centre of communication between the Upper Provinces and Buenos Ayres. Its own produce, consisting chiefly of hides and wool, is all sent to the capital, whence it receives European manufactured

* "Atribúyese esta disgracia á la poca, ó ninguna observancia del ayuno de sus moradores, no obstante haberles dado la Providencia en aquel Rio el pescado necesario para el cumplimiento del precepto."

"Hubo en otro tiempo en la Rioja algunos olivares; y viendo los patricios

las grandes utilidades que les dexaba el aceyte, se excedieron en economia, negandolo á las lamparas de la Iglesia, poniendo sebo en su lugar. Aquel año fuese casualidad, ó castigo, se secaron los olivos de modo que apenas se halla tal qual vestigio de ellos."—*Guías del Peru*, por el Dr. Cosme Bueno.

goods in exchange, and sends them on to the Upper Provinces.

If steam navigation were established on the Paraná, between Buenos Ayres and Santa Fé, Cordova, as well as the provinces further north, would share in its advantages, and would be more easily supplied through Santa Fé, by the old road which runs nearly in a direct line between the two cities by the Lagunes of Porongos.

The people of Cordova and Santa Fé would also once more have a joint interest in checking the inroads of the Indians from the Chaco, and by a better combination of their joint means might be enabled to protect their frontiers more effectually, and perhaps at less expense than either province is now obliged to incur for the maintenance of the militia which is requisite for its separate defence.

PROVINCE OF LA RIOJA.

To the west of the province of Cordova, across the Sierra, lies La Rioja, formerly a dependency of that Government, but now dignified with the title of an independent Province, divided into four departments, viz., Arauco, Guandacol, the Llaños, and Famatina. It is nominally under the rule of a Governor and a municipal junta of five members. The city from which it takes its name was founded in 1591, at the foot of the Sierra de Velasco, a granitic range, and is situated, according to a MS. in my possession, in latitude $29^{\circ} 12'$, though I know not upon whose authority. In 1824 the population did not amount to more than 3000 souls; that of the province is estimated at from 18,000 to 20,000.

Arauco, which is the most northern department, contains about 3000, chiefly occupied in the cultivation of vineyards, from which they make 8000 or 10,000 small barrels annually, of a strong sweet wine, which is sent to Cordova and the neighbouring provinces.

Guandacol, which lies to the westward, beyond the range of Famatina, and along the base of the Cordillera of Chile, contains about 1500 inhabitants,—chiefly congregated in the towns of Guandacol and Vinchina. They are employed in agriculture, and, at a particular season, in hunting the vicuñas in the Cordillera, the wool of which forms a valuable article of trade;—the flesh is an article of food.

The Llaños, which lie to the south of La Rioja, constitute a rich grazing district, in which about 20,000 head of cattle are annually bred. The inhabitants are calculated to be about 6000.

The department of Famatina, of which Chilecito is the principal place, lies to the west of La Rioja; it contains 5000 or 6000 inhabitants, who, like those of Arauco, are much engaged in the cultivation of their vineyards, from which they make 6000 or 8000 barrels of wine yearly.

It takes its name from the famous mineral range of Famatina, distant from La Rioja about thirty leagues.

This range is described as a continuous wall of elevation about 3000 feet high, extending for 50 leagues, according to Mr. French; in the centre is the Nevado, a lofty peak covered with perpetual snow. Its geological formation is chiefly gneiss and clay-slate; but it is specially celebrated for the richness of its silver ores, which are said to surpass in intrinsic value those of Potosi: the extreme remoteness and inclemency of their situation, however, accessible only by rugged and difficult mountain paths, has been a constant bar to their being worked to any extent, and as yet they may be said to be only superficially known.

Nevertheless, a mint was established at La Rioja, at which some gold and silver coins have been struck; and, in 1824 and 1825, during the rage for mining speculations in South America, companies were formed for the working of those of Famatina:—those schemes, however, only ended in disappointment to all concerned in them, not from any scarcity, I believe, of the precious metals, but from miscalculations and mismanagement, and an entire ignorance of the political state of the country.

In such remote parts it has been but too sadly proved how little foreigners can calculate upon any effectual protection either for their property or their persons. It is idle to talk of contracts or title-deeds where the only real law is the will of some petty despot, whose necessities or interests, direct or indirect, will always overrule all other considerations.

That such should be the state of La Rioja is not surprising, when its geographical position is considered, which cuts it off from almost all intercourse with the more civilised parts of the republic. The roads which lead to it, if roads they can be called, which are hardly passable by mules, are as bad as they can be, whilst the distances by these circuitous paths to the nearest of the other provincial towns are enormous. From La Rioja to Cordova it is 114 leagues, to Mendoza 159, and to Buenos Ayres by the nearest beaten route 287. To Guasco or Copiapó, the nearest towns in Chile, the length of the route by the Cordillera of Guan-

dacol is 130 leagues:—this pass is said to be easy of transit, and has been often used to convey goods across the Cordillera from Chile when the communication with Buenos Ayres has been closed; and, considering that it is only half as far, it seems probable that the people of La Rioja will hereafter be supplied with what foreign goods they require principally through that channel.

In the valley of Famatina the inhabitants are subject to goître to a frightful extent: they are wretchedly poor, and, as might be expected, in a lamentable state of ignorance. The Governor, in sending me an account of his province, confessed that the only school in it was one established in the town of La Rioja, where the instruction was entirely limited to reading and writing, and that, for want of support, was often closed.

If the establishment of the present federal system be found of any real advantage, or gratifying to the ambition of some other provinces, the local situation and means of which may induce them to look forward with any confidence to improving their social condition; on the other hand, I fear it must be fatal to those which, like La Rioja, are necessarily thrown by it upon resources which are palpably inadequate either to ensure them any tolerably efficient government for the present, or any likelihood of an improvement in their condition hereafter.

It seems to me that the only means of saving them from lapsing into a state of semi-barbarism is to make them, as before, dependencies of their more powerful neighbours:—nor would they alone benefit by such an arrangement. If the system of a federation is to be perpetuated, a concentration of the Republic into half-a-dozen instead of twice the number of provincial governments (as was originally contemplated when it was divided into provinces in 1813 and 1814), would render each in itself infinitely more respectable, and better able to maintain its own independence, whilst it would vastly facilitate the management of all their national interests and affairs by the Government of Buenos Ayres.

The provinces to the north of Cordova and La Rioja originally formed only two governments, according to the

division established by the National Congress in 1814—that of Tucuman, which included Santiago del Estero and Catamarca, and that of Salta with Jujuy, Oran, and Tarija; but these have since sub-divided themselves, and instead of two, now form five distinct governments, viz., Santiago, Tucuman, Catamarca, Salta, and Tarija, the latter of which has become united to Bolivia: of the others, the first, after leaving Cordova, is Santiago del Estero.



PROVINCE OF SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO.

THE distance from the city of Cordova to that of Santiago del Estero is 130 leagues by the road. Portezuela is the first station beyond the jurisdiction of Cordova, shortly after which commences what is called the Travesia, a vast sandy zone thirty to forty leagues in breadth, for the most part covered with saline efflorescences, and producing a species of *salsola*, from the ashes of which the inhabitants extract soda. It borders the Sierra de Cordova to the north, extending west as far as La Rioja, and southwards nearly to San Luis. In this arid district the sultry heat during the north wind, which is very prevalent in the summer season, is almost insufferable.

My intelligent correspondent the late Dr. Redhead, who had lived for more than a quarter of a century in the Upper Provinces, and to whom I am indebted for some of the most valuable of my information respecting them, speaking of its geological appearance, observes in one of his letters how forcibly he had been led to conjecture that the

southern part of the province of Santiago must once have been a sea-coast. "Its sandy hillocks," he says, "always reminded him of those on the shores of Flanders." Throughout the whole extent of this sandy zone, from Ambargasta to Noria, the country becomes much depressed, and falls to a level little above that of Buenos Ayres: thus in the centre almost of the continent, although at a distance of 700 miles direct from the sea, we have the remarkable fact of a considerable tract of land hardly elevated above its level.

And here I must not omit my acknowledgments to the gentleman in question for a series of barometrical observations, made by him during repeated journeys between Buenos Ayres and Upper Peru, from which Mr. Petermann has constructed for me the interesting section annexed to the map exhibiting the physical configuration of the country throughout the whole of that line of road, and which so strikingly exemplifies the gradual deposition of the alluvial formation from the base of the Andes to the shores of the estuary of the Rio de la Plata.

In the upper parts of the Sierra de Cordova granite is the predominating rock, and innumerable fragments of it may be traced in the descent to the Travesia, whilst beyond that sandy zone there is not a vestige of it throughout the rest of the road to Potosi, the formation the whole way being of blue argillaceous schist and slate, with occasional strata of limestone and red sandstone. In the neighbourhood of Potosi, however, and on the tops of some of the highest mountains in its vicinity, Helms tells us that he fell in with a pretty thick stratum of granite pebbles rounded by the action of water.

How, he says, could these masses of granite have been deposited here, as there is a continual descent to Tucuman, where the granitic ridge ends, and from Tucuman to Potosi it consists of simple argillaceous schist? Have they been rolled hither by a general deluge, or by some later partial revolution of nature? His astonishment would have been infinitely greater had he known that marine shells are to be found on the lofty mountain of Chorolque (about twelve leagues north-west from Tupiza, between Salta and Potosi),

the summit of which has been determined barometrically by Dr. Redhead to be 16,530 feet above the level of the sea.

The word Chorolque is corrupted from Churucolque, signifying in the Quichua language that the mountain contains silver and shells. The Spaniards, however, little suspected that the latter were to be found there, till, in 1826, an enterprising Frenchman ascended the mountain and brought down specimens which established the fact beyond doubt.

A further study of that language might lead the scientific inquirer to many an important discovery. The disposition of the Peruvians for observation is well known, and their nomenclature of places is generally expressive more or less either of the nature of the soil, or some peculiarity attached to it: thus a person well versed in Quichua may guess beforehand what he is to see. Peutocsi, for instance, difficult to be properly pronounced by an European, and corrupted into Potosi, signifies "*It is said to have burst forth.*" Such must have been their tradition, which the very appearance of this singular cone, standing alone and distinct from the system of mountains which surrounds it, and the hot springs in its vicinity, would seem to corroborate.

It is in the province of Santiago that the Quichua, or language of the Incas, is first met with. The Jesuits published a grammar and dictionary of it in Peru in the early part of the last century.

The city of Santiago is a straggling, ill-built place, containing not more than 4000 souls. It is situated in lat. $27^{\circ} 47''$, upon the banks of a considerable river which rises in the territory of Tucuman, and running south through this province is finally lost, under the name of the Rio Dolce, in the great lakes called the Porongos, to the north-west of Santa Fé.

The whole population of the province is estimated at about 50,000, the greater part of which is much scattered in small villages built along the banks of this river and of the Salado, which runs parallel to it, and separates the province on that side from the Gran-Chaco, the low lands along their banks being the best suited not only for the

pasturage of cattle, but for the cultivation of wheat, the yield of which is said to be unusually large.

In most parts of the province the *cactus opuntia* may be seen growing to an extraordinary size, and the cochineal gathered from it used to form one of the most valuable productions of this part of the country : from 8000 to 10,000 lbs. of it were annually sent to Chile and Peru. Large quantities of wild bees-wax and honey were also collected in the woods and sent to the other provinces, in which they were always much in request ; but the civil dissensions which have been so frequent in these provinces have checked the industry of the people, who have almost entirely abandoned their old pursuits, and given up their yearly gatherings of these once valued productions. This is the more to be regretted as they are said to be naturally an enterprising and intelligent race, less addicted to habitual indolence than some of the other inhabitants of these countries. The women manufacture ponchos and coarse saddle-cloths, or blankets, which are sold in great numbers to the people of Tucuman and Salta.

To the eastward of the river Salado lies the vast region commonly called the Gran-Chaco, or Chacú,* which extends to the Paraná, and reaches north as far as the Bolivian province of Chiquitos, solely inhabited by Indians of various tribes, who, safe in their own wilds and jungles, have there found a refuge from Spanish domination and persecution. It is through this territory that the rivers Pilcomayo and Vermejo wind their tortuous courses to the Paraná from the most remote parts of the interior of the Upper Provinces.

Some way beyond the river Salado, about 70 leagues east from Santiago, in lat. $27^{\circ} 28'$, in the vast plains of the Chaco in which, as in the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, not a stone is to be seen, at a place called *Otumpa* by the natives, was found that very remarkable specimen of native iron which I sent to this country some years ago, and which is now deposited in the British Museum (the largest mass of the kind, I believe, in any collection in Europe). It seems to have been first made known by

* An Indian name for the lair, or place of refuge of wild beasts.

some of the country people who had been collecting honey in the forests; and their account of it being forwarded to Buenos Ayres induced the Viceroy in 1783 to order Don Miguel Ruben de Celis and Don Pedro Cerviño, one of the officers of the Boundary Commission, to proceed thither to examine it.

The former, upon his return to Europe, drew up an account of it, which was published in the 'Philosophical Transactions' for 1788, and excited much interest at the time; its accuracy, however, has been since disputed by Azara, who was intimately acquainted with Cerviño, and received from him some details respecting it differing from those given by De Celis, and especially refuting the supposed existence of any other mineral in the vicinity, and the notion of De Celis that it was of volcanic origin.

De Celis estimates the weight of the mass he examined at 300 quintals. Now the mass I sent home only weighs about 1400 lbs., and, making allowance for a portion cut off from it at Buenos Ayres, may perhaps originally have weighed about a ton. It would appear, therefore, if De Celis's estimate of the weight was correct, that it is a smaller mass, and not the identical specimen described by him. But may not the 300 quintals be a mistake in transcribing his account for *thirty*, which would be equal to about a ton and a half?

By later accounts, however, it appears there are several masses of this iron in the same locality. Such is the story told by the people of Santiago, and I have been assured by an English gentleman long resident at Buenos Ayres that he had seen the original sketches of *three* with their respective measurements made by the persons sent in quest of this iron by the Government of Buenos Ayres when my specimen was brought down. Dr. Redhead also, in writing to me on the subject, says, "The native iron found at Santiago is not a single mass, as has been said; there are several, and the most recent accounts describe them as huge trunks with deep roots (I use the expression of the natives), supposed to communicate with each other."

As in those times the working of iron was forbidden in South America, after sundry specimens of it were for-

warded to Lima, to Buenos Ayres, and to Spain, the remainder lay neglected for many years in its original site.

In the beginning of the struggle for independence, however, when the Spanish ships of war blockaded Buenos Ayres, iron, amongst other necessities, becoming extremely scarce, the people were reminded of the reports of the Indians, that in the same parts there were extensive veins of the same mineral; and at a great expense the mass in question was sent for and brought to Buenos Ayres. By the time it got there the blockade was over; and as it was evidently much easier to procure iron from Europe than by a cart-carriage of 1000 miles from the uninhabited wilds of the Chaco, no further trouble was taken to determine whether the Indian reports of its being procurable in larger quantities were true or not.

By way of experiment a pair of pistols were manufactured from it, which were sent as a present to the President of the United States, and what remained was placed at my disposal by the Minister of Buenos Ayres on the occasion of my signing the treaty with him in 1825, which recognised on the part of Great Britain the political independence of his country. I sent it to Sir Humphry Davy to be placed in the British Museum, hoping that he would himself have analysed it, and given his opinion respecting its supposed meteoric origin.* That, I believe, was never done, owing to his death, which occurred shortly after the arrival of the iron in this country. It had, however, been previously analysed by Proust and Howard, who had come to the conclusion that it contained about 10 per cent. of nickel.†

* A strange and unexpected difficulty occurred after the mass had been packed up to be shipped for England, which at one time I feared would have prevented its ever reaching its destination. Two or three masters of merchant vessels successively engaged and afterwards declined to take charge of it, to my surprise, until I found that an idea had gone abroad that it was a big loadstone. One man feared it would draw all the nails out of his ship's side. Another, with more reason perhaps, excused himself on the ground that so large a mass of iron on board might affect his compass.

† My experiments on the iron from

South America coincided with those of Mr. Proust: he obtained 50 grains of sulphate of nickel from 100 of this mass. The process I have before mentioned yielded me 80 grains of oxide of iron from 62 of the metal; which indicates about $7\frac{1}{2}$ of nickel, or about 10 per cent. The Siberian iron gives about 17 per cent. of nickel by the same process.—Vide *Philos. Trans.*, vol. xcii., paper entitled "Experiments and Observations on certain Stony and Metalline Substances which at different times are said to have fallen on the Earth; also on various kinds of Native Iron." By Edward Howard, Esq., F.R.S. Read at the Royal Society, Feb. 25, 1802.

It seems to have been assumed here that this iron, as a matter of course, is of meteoric origin, because it has been found to contain nickel and cobalt, and to offer an analogous composition with that of other well established meteoric productions. The abundance, however, in which the metal in question was said to exist induced me as well as others in South America to hesitate in adopting at once this view, the rather as about the same time we received accounts of the existence of an extraordinary quantity of iron, apparently of a like description, in some sandy plains in the Province of Atacama in Peru, of which I sent to England some specimens, which were fully described by the late Mr. Allan in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh for 1828.

An analysis of them by Dr. Turner gave the following results:—

Iron	93·4
Nickel	6·618
Cobalt	0·535
	100·553

a result which he considered decisive concerning their origin, because, he says, “it differs from any mineral species hitherto discovered in the bowels of the earth, and corresponds exactly both in appearance and composition with other meteoric iron.”

The Atacama iron is certainly remarkably similar to that discovered by Pallas in Siberia: like it, it is full of cavities filled with a green crystalline substance resembling the olivine of basaltic rocks; and both have been considered hitherto as of meteoric origin, chiefly founded on their chemical composition, so analogous to that of undoubted meteorites, and from their insulated position on the surface of the earth, totally unconnected with the subjacent strata.

The Otumpa iron differs from them both in appearance; whilst the Atacama and Siberian specimens are full of cavities, looking like large sponges or scorix, that is remarkably compact, with a strong metallic lustre when polished, and very malleable.

The Atacama iron is found scattered in large quantities over a plain at the foot of a mountain a little to the south-west of a small Indian village called Toconao, ten leagues from San Pedro, the capital of Atacama, and about eighty from Cobija, on the coast. The tradition there is, that the fragments have been thrown out by some volcanic explosion from the side of the neighbouring mountain, in which the people of Toconao say there is a large *veta* of pure iron. The Indian who collected the specimens which I sent to this country was employed to *catear*, or search for mines; and the nature of his occupation rendered it requisite for him to be particular in his observations. His account was, that "they were taken from a heap of the same nature, estimated at about three hundred weight, and that they existed at the mouth of a *veta*, or vein of solid iron, situated at the foot of a mountain; he called them '*reventazones*,' or explosions from the *veta*, or vein." He had been charged to bring a piece of the *veta* itself, and some of the rock in which it is embedded, but this he said he could not effect for want of tools; he therefore contented himself with picking up some of the pieces that were at the foot of the hill, where the mouth of the vein opens.

Other inquiries subsequently made seemed to corroborate his testimony. The alcalde of Toconao, who had been at the place, stated that the fragments had issued from a cavity of about fifteen feet diameter, which, from the nature of the soil, was filling up. This is sandy, and for three leagues round there is neither wood nor water nor pasture of any kind. Several persons in San Pedro, and amongst others one named Gonzales, who had likewise seen the cavity, gave a similar account. "Time," says Dr. Redhead, who set on foot these investigations, "may perhaps justify the tradition or opinion of the Indians relative to the origin of this iron; nor do I know why we should refuse to Nature the power of reducing in her laboratory a metal so easily separated from its combinations by the efforts of man."

When I first gave publicity to these accounts I ventured to add that, from the discovery of this and of similar

iron in such abundance in so many parts of the world, I thought we might begin to doubt whether these supposed meteoric productions were not in reality minerals of our own planet instead of extraneous origin; but it would seem that men of science in Europe are not disposed to entertain such a notion, without more information than we as yet possess upon the subject.

Relying, as I do implicitly, upon the correctness of the facts related of the discovery of the specimens in the locality mentioned, I admit that the *opinions* of the natives may be liable to question, and that it is possible that what they supposed to be the veta or mine was only a larger fragment of the iron deeply embedded in the formation in which it was found.

This point can now only be determined by the further investigations of more competent parties on the spot; so says Baron Humboldt, who has been so kind as to make some observations upon these remarks of mine, which will be seen on reference to his letter, which I have given in the Introduction.

PROVINCE OF TUCUMAN.

FORTY leagues (post distance) beyond Santiago del Estero is situated the city of San Miguel de Tucuman. It stands (in lat. $27^{\circ} 10'$) on an elevated and well-wooded plain, in a position from which the prospect on every side is delightful; indeed all accounts agree in describing it as the best situated town in the republic.

It was originally founded in 1564 by Don Diego de Villaroel, about twelve leagues distant from its present site, whither the inhabitants removed in 1685 in consequence of an awful inundation which swept away the church and a great portion of the buildings.

The climate, though hot, is dry and salubrious; and Nature has been so prodigal of her choicest gifts, that the province of Tucuman well merits its appellation of the Garden of the United Provinces. The population amounts to about 40,000 souls, of which 7000 or 8000 reside in the city.

After leaving the travesia of Santiago the road ascends a slightly inclined plane the whole way to Tucuman, the jurisdiction of which commences after crossing the river Santiago, there called the *Rio Hondo*, or deep river, which separates the two provinces, and is formed by the confluence of many streams which rise in the mountains to the west. To the eastward the Salado continues to be the general boundary-line separating it from the Chaco; to the north the river Tala divides it from the territory of Salta; and to the west and south-west the lofty mountains of Aconquija separate it from Catamarca.

The highest peak of this range is covered with perpetual snow, and is said to rise 15,000 feet above the level of the sea. The mountains abound in mineral treasures, and contain ores of gold, silver, copper, and lead; but the toil and difficulty attendant upon mining operations in those parts of the sierra where they are to be found have caused them to be much neglected, and the mining, if mining it

can be called, is now confined to a few wretched people scattered amongst the hills, who occasionally collect small quantities of silver, which they bring down to the city for sale. I have had some of the specimens so collected, which are singularly rich and beautiful. The *mita* and other oppressive enactments have well nigh destroyed the unfortunate race whose forced labour brought to light the mineral wealth of these regions.

The *mamelucho*, as the gaucho of Tucuman is called, the horseman of the plains, with the help of his wife, who makes the greater part of his clothing, has almost everything he wants about him. He knows not, and therefore needs not, those comforts which become wants in less genial climes, and where civilization is more advanced. Free as the air he breathes, he gallops over boundless plains unfettered by the slightest restraint upon his own inclinations. He has no temptation to quit such a life for the fatigues and dangers of an occupation which he considers as degrading,* to bury himself under ground, and to seek by the sweat of his brow treasures of which he does not stand in need. His cattle are the finest in the republic; and the least possible cultivation and labour is sure to yield in return not only the necessaries, but what in his opinion are the luxuries of life.

Nothing can be more luxuriant than the vegetation in this province: whilst the plains yield corn and maize, and rice and tobacco, in the greatest abundance, the base and slopes of the mountain ranges in the west are covered with noble trees in every variety, interspersed with innumerable shrubs, and hung with the most beautiful parasitical plants. Extensive groves also of aroma and orange-trees produce a fragrance which adds to the delights of this favoured region. The sugar-cane grows naturally in the low lands, and might be turned to valuable account; the demand for it, however, at present, is not sufficient to induce the country people to attend to it. Not so with the tobacco-plant, which they cultivate and find a ready

* As mining labour was imposed as an obligation upon the Indians by the conquerors, so it came to be considered as the occupation of a caste, and of a caste

looked down upon by all who boasted of the slightest admixture of European blood in their veins.

sale for in all the adjoining provinces ; as they do for their cheeses, known as those of *Tafi*, which are considered a delicacy at Buenos Ayres. The people are a well-disposed, hardy race, proud of their beautiful country, and always ready to take up arms in defence of *La Patria*.

It has been already stated that it was at Tucuman that the Political Independence of the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata was solemnly declared by a Congress of their Deputies, convoked for the purpose in the year 1816.

PROVINCE OF CATAMARCA.

CATAMARCA, divided from Tucuman by the sierras of Aconquija, is one of those subordinate provinces which, like Rioja, owes its independence rather to its insignificance and secluded situation than to any pretensions which the people can have to govern themselves; properly it should be a dependency of the government of Tucuman, to which the Congress annexed it in 1814.

When I applied to the Governor for some general statistical information as to the extent and resources of his province, he fairly confessed his ignorance and utter inability to answer my queries; much less was it possible to obtain any satisfactory topographical data.

The inhabitants of the province are estimated at 30,000 to 35,000, of which about 4000 reside in Catamarca. The valley so called, and in which the greater part of this population is settled, runs from north-west to south-east, extending from the confines of Atacama to those of Rioja. On the eastern side it is separated from Tucuman first by the sierras of Ancasti and Ambato, and more to the north by the snow-capped peaks of Aconquija; it is watered by a river which is said to have been once a much more considerable stream than at the present day, and the waters of which are finally lost in the low sandy plains of the province of Santiago.

The climate is sultry, and the people, at certain seasons, are very subject to intermittent fevers. They produce corn and cattle enough for their own subsistence, and supply the adjoining provinces largely with their cotton, the quality of that of Catamarca being in higher repute than their own, for their domestic manufactures: considerable quantities of red pepper (dried capsicums) are also sent from thence to Buenos Ayres.

The town of Catamarca, called San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca, by the usual track is about sixty leagues distant, south-west, from Tucuman. In a MS. by Dean

Funes, in my possession, he places it in south latitude $28^{\circ} 12'$.

The Calchaquis, who originally occupied those parts, were a warlike race, whose dominion extended from the confines of Peru over all the country lying between the ranges of the Cordillera on the west and those of Aconquija on the east. They derived their name from the valley of *Calchaqui*, which, in the Quichua language, is strongly significant of the fertility of the soil; and for a long period they defended themselves against the Spaniards with an obstinate bravery, unequalled perhaps in any other part of South America, excepting Araucania.

The history of those parts for the first century and a half, indeed, is little more than an enumeration of their bloody wars with the Spaniards, in which the latter were often defeated with serious loss, their towns besieged and destroyed, and they themselves obliged to fly before the brave defenders of the soil, whom they drove to desperation by their wanton cruelties and oppressive treatment.

Amongst other cases, one may serve as an example, which Funes relates of Don Philip Albornos, who being named Governor of Tucuman, some of the Caciques of the Calchaquis, at the time on good terms with the Spaniards, repaired to Tucuman to tender to him their customary tribute upon his appointment. Instead of the welcome they expected, Albornos wantonly ordered them to be publicly flogged, to have their heads shaved, and so to be sent back whence they came.

But this gratuitous and outrageous insult was not committed with impunity. The Calchaquis swore to be avenged: they secretly sent forth emissaries to rouse all the people of their tribes, especially those of Andalgala, of Famatina, of Copoyan, and Guandacol, who were known to be smarting under the yoke of their new task-masters; and then, with an overwhelming force, at one and the same time they fell upon Jujuy, Salta, Tucuman, London, and La Rioja, carrying everywhere desolation, and sparing not man, woman, nor child. Never were the Spaniards in those parts reduced to such shifts; in vain they endeavoured to make peace; the Indians would listen to no

terms; and this war raged for ten years, with great loss to the Spaniards, and the utter annihilation of many of their settlements. Nor was it till a large force could be spared from Peru that this formidable insurrection was put down.

The Spaniards, once masters again, retaliated as usual. Many tribes were exterminated; others capitulated, and agreed with their Conquerors to abandon altogether their native valleys, and were removed to a distance; amongst others, a people called the Quilmes, inhabiting a part of the valley of Calchaqui, being reduced to about 200 families, after a long resistance, were sent to Buenos Ayres, where the Governor settled them a short distance from the city, at the place which still bears their name.

The labours of the Jesuits, however, were eventually more successful than all the military forces which were sent against the Calchaquis. These indefatigable missionaries reduced one tribe after another to a state of comparative civilization, and eventually removed the greater part of them from their native soil to form the nucleus of the Christian settlements which they were anxious to establish upon their own plan on the banks of the Vermejo, amongst the Indians of the Chaco. There they soon lost all importance, and the hostilities of other Indian nations, and a dreadful epidemic which broke out amongst them, in the year 1718, finally put an end to the existence of a gallant people, who had not only signalized their name by their successful wars against the Spaniards, but who, in times long before, had maintained their independence in spite of all the efforts of the dynasty of the Incas to reduce them to subjection.

THE PROVINCE OF SALTA

bounds the Confederation to the north; and follows in geographical succession those of Tucuman and Catamarca. The river Pescado separates it from the former. The Vermejo and its tributary, the river of Tarija, constitute its limits to the east. It is divided into the four departments of Salta, Jujuy, Oran, and Tarija; the latter of which has been occupied by the Bolivians, apparently with a determination to maintain possession of it. Deducting the population of that department, the rest of the territory of Salta is estimated to contain nearly 60,000 souls.

The city of Salta contains between 8000 and 9000 inhabitants. It was founded in 1582, by Abreu, in the valley of Siancas, under the name of San Clemente de la Nueva Sevilla; two years afterwards his successor, Hernando de Lerma, removed it to its present site, in the valley of Chicuana, in lat. $24^{\circ} 51'$, giving it the name of San Felipe de Lerma, subsequently superseded by that of Salta.



(View of the City of Salta.)

Upon the whole it has a neat appearance: the principal square, as usual in the Spanish cities, contains a

handsome town house and the cathedral; besides which there are several other churches. It is, however, badly situated in the bottom of a valley, through which flow the rivers Arias and Silleta, the latter of which has of late years abandoned its ancient bed, and seems to threaten at no distant period to burst over the low marshy grounds upon which the city stands. Shut in by the mountain ranges in the neighbourhood, the atmosphere is at certain seasons charged with miasmata, giving rise to intermittent fever, which is very general amongst the inhabitants. Goître is almost universal, and leprosy was once prevalent to a frightful extent.

The form of government in this province, as in all the rest, is based upon the example of that of Buenos Ayres; consisting of a popular assembly, which has the power of electing the Governor. But though democratic in theory, it is far otherwise in practice: the lower orders have not the smallest notion of the real meaning of a representative form of government, and bow with submission to the dictates of a patriarchal coterie of influential families, which, alternately electing and elected, arrange the government amongst themselves very much as suits their own convenience and interests. If any appeal to the people is ever made, it is generally from the necessity of supporting by a demonstration of brute force the pretensions of some particular candidate for power.

Such are these governments in the infancy of society. One may serve as a sample of the rest, although local circumstances may have given rise to slight shades of difference in their appearance. Salta, as a frontier province, during the struggle for independence was much exposed to the vicissitudes of the war; but this very circumstance roused the energies of the people, and excited in them a spirit of improvement which has placed them in advance of most of the Upper Provinces.

The establishment of a printing-press for the first time in 1824, from which occasionally a newspaper was produced, and of schools, in which reading, writing, and the first rules of arithmetic were taught, were great steps compared with the state of things under the old régime. The clergy, too,

either from conviction or the force of circumstances, are becoming more tolerant, and opinions which in old times it would have been heresy to think of, are now permitted to be discussed as at Buenos Ayres, where religious toleration has become the law of the land.

Salta is distant from Buenos Ayres 450 leagues by the road: 18 further north is Jujuy—and so far the whole journey may be travelled in a four-wheel vehicle; but from Jujuy the traveller must mount his mule to traverse the mountain passes of the Cordillera, the ascent to which may be said to commence there, and the rugged and precipitous roads over which are quite impracticable for any other mode of conveyance.

Jujuy is the last town of any importance belonging to the Argentine provinces on the road to Alto Peru. The population amounts to between 2000 and 3000 souls. It is situated on the banks of a river in a beautiful valley. It cost the Spaniards, who first invaded these countries, many a hard battle with the natives ere they could call themselves masters of this position, “La Garganta” (or *throat*) of Peru; which, commanding as it did the entrance to the mountain passes, was of vital importance to both parties, and was long most obstinately contested by the Indians of Humahuaca, who more than once drove the Spaniards from their first settlements, and cut off their communications with their countrymen in Peru.

The present town, called San Salvador de Jujuy, was founded in 1592, during the government of Don Juan Ramirez de Velasco.

The inhabitants of the department so called may amount to about 30,000, and were esteemed rich and prosperous when Jujuy was the channel of the constant communication kept up between Potosi and the rich mining districts of Alto Peru and Buenos Ayres; but since the erection of those Provinces into an Independent State they have had little intercourse with their neighbours, and Jujuy has lost its former importance in common with all the towns situated upon the old high road to Peru. These districts suffered much also from being

frequently the seat of war during the struggle for independence.

The Salteños boast that within their own territory they possess every climate, from extreme heat to the most intense cold; and consequently, that they can rear almost every production of nature; for, although under the tropic, the mountain ranges rise in some places to the height of perpetual snow, counteracting the sun's influence more or less according to the elevation.

Thus whilst in all the department of Oran, in the east of the province, the tropical sun has its full influence, under the same latitude in the west, in the mountain districts of Rosario and Rinconada, the cold is intense. In the intermediate valleys the climate is temperate and agreeable.

It is in these valleys that the population is chiefly located; they are for the most part highly fertile, being watered by many small rivers and streams, which, running eastward from the mountainous districts, fall into the Salado and Vermejo, which have already been described as the principal aqueducts of these Upper Provinces. Indeed it is in this province that both these noble rivers may be said to have their origin, of which the following account is chiefly from data furnished me by Colonel Arenales, son of the late Governor of Salta, and since the director of the topographical department of Buenos Ayres.

As a general observation, it may be stated that the tributaries of the Salado all run south, whilst those of the Vermejo will be found to the north of the city of Salta, as may be seen on reference to the map.

The sources of the Salado may be traced to the snowy ranges of Acay, where the river Cachi rises, about fifty leagues' journey westward of Salta, running nearly due south, for more than thirty leagues, through the valleys, successively named Cachi, Calchaqui, Siclantas, and San Carlos; during this course it is joined by three smaller rivers from the west. Six or seven leagues from San Carlos, the river Santa Maria falls into it from the south.

This river rises in the province of Catamarca, forty leagues off, running from south to north with little variation. The road from Salta to Catamarca and La Rioja follows

its course. At the junction of the Santa Maria the Cachi changes its direction from south-east to north-east, and takes the name of Guachipas, from the town so called, by which it afterwards passes.

A little beyond that place the Silleta falls into it, about sixteen leagues to the south of Salta. This river rises near the lake del Toro, to the north-west of Salta, and is augmented by the Arias, from that city, and by two or three other minor streams. Thence the Guachipas turns again south, and, ten leagues below its junction with the Silleta, crosses the high road from Buenos Ayres, where it is called "El Pasage."

In the summer season, when the waters are low, its breadth may be here about 100 yards, and not being then more than three or four feet deep, it may be safely forded; as the river rises, passengers are ferried across in a balsa of hide towed by *nadadores*, "swimmers," or, as they are sometimes, called "*pasadores*," appointed to be at hand for the purpose, and whose charges are regulated: these nadadores are often women, who are extremely expert in guiding these frail barks across the stream. In the season of the floods this mode of passing the river is no longer practicable; it then becomes a very wide and formidable river, the passage of which is rendered extremely dangerous, even to those best acquainted with it, not only from its increased depth and rapidity, but from the many large boulders and trunks of trees which are hurried down by the stream with irresistible violence, and which carry everything before them.

At those times, however, couriers occasionally pass it swimming, or holding by the tails of their horses, which they drive before them. All carriage intercourse is for the time impossible, and the ordinary traffic between Salta and the lower provinces is therefore as matter of course suspended during the rainy season. To obviate so serious an inconvenience, in the time of the Old Spaniards a survey was made of this part of the river, and a plan was proposed to the government for throwing a bridge over a rocky pass, which, if executed, would have enabled carts as well as passengers to cross it high and dry at any

season. The materials were at hand, and the estimate of the whole expense so small that it was difficult to find an objection to it; on the contrary, it was unanimously approved; but, as nothing is done in a hurry in these countries, it was, like many other most notable projects, postponed "*hasta mejor oportunidad*," till better times, which, unfortunately for the people of Salta, have never yet arrived.

Ten or twelve leagues below the pass, the Rio de las Piedras, the last affluent of any consequence, falls in; thence the course of the river is south-easterly as far as Pitos, the frontier fort of Salta in that direction. In the flat saline country through which it afterwards runs, its waters take a brackish taste, from which it receives the name of the Salado, or the salt river, which it preserves the whole way to its junction with the Paraná, near Santa Fé. I have before stated that this river is said to be navigable as high as Matara, in the latitude of Santiago del Estero.

The Vermejo, the most important of all the affluents of the Paraguay, is formed by two considerable streams, which may be called the rivers of Jujuy and of Tarija, from those two departments which they respectively drain. Their sources are at no great distance from each other, but, descending from opposite sides of a snow-capped range, the buttresses of which branch out far and wide to the south and east, they are soon hurried away in totally opposite directions; each, however, finally sweeping round the base of the stupendous platform above, describes, after a long course, the segment of a circle, which is rendered all but complete by the junction of their waters at a point about sixteen leagues below Oran, whence they flow together to the south-east in one large stream, navigable the whole way to the Paraná.

The Jujuy river rises near the Pass of the Abra de Cortaderas, about three leagues from Colorados, one of the most elevated points passed by the traveller on the road to Potosi, rising 12,400 feet above the level of the sea, according to Dr. Redhead's barometrical observations: from thence the lofty peak of Chorolque, beyond Tupiza,

in the north-west, and the snowy ranges of Atacama and Lipez in the west-north-west, are distinctly visible. The bed of the river, in its descent from this elevated region, the whole way to Jujuy, is little more than a succession of precipitous ravines, occasionally expanding into basins, highly interesting to the geologist, as exhibiting on all sides evidences of the tremendous convulsions which at some remote period must have torn and shaken this part of the continent to its very foundations.* The road to Potosi winds along it, but it would seem to be a region only suited to the wild guanacoes and vicuñas, which wander in countless herds over the snowy ranges above, looking down with apparent surprise on the casual traveller who wends his toilsome way through these rugged defiles. The favourite food of these animals is the *ichú*, a very coarse grass, which is only found at elevations little short of 12,500 feet in this latitude. From Jujuy the river turns eastward through a more open and habitable region, which skirts the southern base of these mountain ranges, and about twenty leagues beyond receives the Siancas, or Lavayen, its most important tributary, which rises in the heights of San Lorenzo, to the north-west of the town of Salta: it is afterwards joined by the Ledesma and three or four other minor streams, before it falls into the river of Tarija, as before stated, below Oran.

The course of the Tarija, in the first instance, is nearly as precipitous as that of the Jujuy, running through broken mountainous passes; but when it trends to the south, and receives the Pescado (which separates the departments of Oran and Tarija), and shortly after the Senta, it opens into wide and extensive valleys, traversed by many streams, which, running down into the main river, irrigate the rich lands on its shores, and combined with the heat of a tropical climate render them one of the most fertile districts in South America.

These are the principal rivers of this province. Its productions are as various as its physical features. In the

* "Mountains so irregular and broken as in this part of the Cordillera, and with such various alternations of their strata, we had never before seen. . . . In no

country does a revolution of nature appear to have been so general as in South America, the traces of which are every where so manifest."—*Helms*.

west the mines of the Cerro de Acay and San Antonio de los Cobres have been at times worked with considerable success; and in the still more elevated districts bordering upon Atacama, the people of Cochinoa, La Rinconada, Cerillos, Santa Catalina, and Rosario employ themselves in collecting considerable quantities of gold from the alluvial deposits after heavy rains.*

It is in those cold regions that the alpacas and vicuñas are found: the guanaco also abounds there, and the beautiful little chinchilla, thousands of dozens of the skins of which are yearly collected and sent down to Buenos Ayres for exportation to Europe.

In the same part of the province, not far east of La Rinconada, are extensive plains of salt, called the Salinas de Casabindo, to which the natives of the adjoining districts resort when the salt is hard and dry, and cut out large blocks of it with hatchets, which they load upon their llamas and asses, and carry to Salta and Jujuy, and other parts of the province: there also they collect, in the same manner, the snow which is used in those towns for making ices in the summer season. The eyes of travellers obliged to traverse these inhospitable wilds are said to be as much affected by the glare of the sun reflected from these fields of salt, as from the snow-capped mountains which bound them. Casabindo is about forty-five leagues east from Atacama, the intermediate distance being all Cordillera, and is situated upon the desolate road from Salta, which is appropriately called *El Despoblado*, or the uninhabited region.

In the valleys, further south, of Colalao, San Carlos, Calchaqui, and Cachi, watered by the streams which afterwards fall into the Salado, large quantities of wheat and maize are grown, with which the rest of the province is chiefly supplied: the vine is also extensively cultivated

* In the vicinity of La Rinconada especially lumps of gold of extraordinary size have been found, and the stories told of the quantities collected by digging into the alluvial soil a few yards deep are quite marvellous, and this with the most wretched implements and very scanty means of labour: it is a common saying that after heavy rains gold grows like the

grass in the alluvial soil about La Rinconada. It seems by far the most promising district, and the most easily examined, of any within these provinces. The alluvial gold of the locality, like that of the valleys of the Eastern Cordillera of Bolivia, has been probably derived from the blue Silurian slates, so abundant in this part of the Andes.

there, from which a good deal of a common wine is made for the consumption of the neighbouring provinces.

It was from their rich pastures, however, watered by the mountain streams, that the Salteños in former times derived their principal wealth. Before the revolution, and when the provinces of Alto Peru, which now form the Republic of Bolivia, were part of the Vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, a great trade was carried on by the people of Salta in mules, 50,000 or 60,000 of which were annually sold there for the service of the carriers of Peru: these mules were chiefly bred in the provinces of Santa Fé and Cordova, and sent to Salta when two or three years old, where, after being kept for a season or two in the rich grazing grounds of that province, they were considered strong enough for the work expected of them in the severer climate of the Andes. A periodical fair was held in the neighbourhood of Salta, to which the purchasers from Peru repaired, and bought the animals in droves at the rate of fourteen or sixteen dollars each (five or six more if broken in), about a third of which was clear profit to the Salteños, who bought them of the Cordova and Santa Fecino breeders at a price seldom above ten dollars. Those that reached Lima were worth double the price paid for them at Salta. A tax, called *sis*a, of three-quarters of a dollar on each mule, was levied by the Government, the annual amount of which was destined to the maintenance of the forts upon the frontier, kept up as defences against the encroachments of the Indians of the Chaco.

The propagation of mules in such extraordinary numbers was a business, as may be supposed, of considerable consequence, and it is not unworthy of notice as furnishing some curious facts for natural history:—

The mule, it is well known, is the offspring of the ass and the mare; to induce them to pair contrary to nature's law requires, in the first instance, some contrivance and pre-arrangement. It is usually brought about by substituting the foal of an ass for that of the mare as soon after the birth as possible; sometimes the mare is kept in darkness to impose upon her the more easily—at others

the young ass is covered with the skin of her own offspring for some days, the more effectually to hide the deceit.

The mares are generally soon reconciled to the offspring thus surreptitiously imposed on them, and bring them up as their own; and care being taken to separate them from the males of their own species, they become habituated to the asses, and in due time a cross takes place between them, the produce of which is the mule. It is a singular fact that asses so brought up amongst mares will not herd with the females of their own kind; attachment to the foster-mother seems to be nature's law in these cases, and entirely to supersede any feeling for the race of the male parent. Thus the ass which is suckled by the mare will always herd with horses in preference to the individuals of his own species, and so will mules, which apparently disdain all intercourse with their male progenitors and their own kind. Of course I am speaking of them in a state of nature and before they are domesticated.

The same rule holds very remarkably with regard to some of their habits: for example, the mule will take to the water spontaneously, and swim like a horse, which asses will not do—indeed, it is a most difficult matter to get them to cross a river, which in the countries of South America very much diminishes the value of the services of these animals, and their price in consequence.

Nevertheless, in his natural state the ass is a brave animal, and when surrounded by the brood mares with which he is associated in the pastures of the Pampas is ready to do battle for them with any enemy, however formidable. Woe be to any stray horse that makes his appearance amongst them; he has no chance against the ass, who fights with extraordinary fury when once excited. Even the jaguar, the terror of all other animals of the Pampas, is often worsted by his courage and instinctive tact: unable to cope with him face to face, he suffers him to spring upon his crupper, and then, putting his head between his legs to save his neck and throat (which it is the tiger's first object always to seize), throws himself

backwards upon the ground with all his force, so as often to break some of the bones of his assailant, and in that disabled state he has been known to destroy him with his powerful teeth. Such conflicts have been often witnessed by the gauchos in charge of the mares.*

The struggle for independence stopped the trade in mules, for the Upper Provinces and the greater part of Peru being in possession of the Royalists to the last, all intercourse with Salta was cut off for many years, nor has there been sufficient encouragement to renew it since the restoration of peace. The people of Alto Peru, however, must have mules, and it does not appear that they are likely to be supplied with them from any other quarter.

Proceeding eastward through the valleys of Campo Santo, and those watered by the Lavayen and its affluents, to Oran, a town founded in 1793, after Cornejo's exploration of the Vermejo, and throughout all that department, a tropical vegetation is found in all its natural luxuriance. Forests of noble trees † stud the banks of the rivers, and extend far down the shores of the Vermejo, valuable not only as timber, but as producing fruits which may be said to supply the place of bread and wine to the natives: such, amongst others, is the algaroba or carob tree, a sort of acacia, from the fruit of which, a large bean growing in clusters of pods, mixed with maize, the Indians make cakes; and, by fermentation, produce the *chicha*, a strong intoxicating liquor. The palm-tree, and the plant which produces the maté, or Paraguay tea, are alike indigenous there, and many others, as yet only known to us by their Indian names, which it would be useless to recapitulate.

The cactus, bearing the cochineal insect, and the aloe are found in every direction. From the macerated fibres of the latter the Indians of the Chaco make yarn and

* Molina gives a somewhat similar account in describing the Puma of Chile. He says, "Should the puma succeed in leaping upon his back, the ass immediately throws himself on the ground and endeavours to crush him, or runs with all his force against the trunks of trees, holding his head down to save his throat: by which means he generally succeeds in freeing himself from his assailant."—*Molina's Hist. of Chile*.

† When Soria descended the Vermejo in 1826, it was deemed a good opportunity to send a collection of the various woods of these regions to Buenos Ayres, that they might be examined and more properly described; and he told me he had no less than seventy-three different specimens with him, which were taken from him, with everything else, by Dr. Francia, in Paraguay.

ropes, which are found less liable to rot in water than hemp. Their fishing-nets are all made of this material, and a variety of bags and pouches, for which there is always a demand amongst their more civilised neighbours: these articles are variously dyed in indelible colours, prepared also by the Indians. There is no doubt that this plant, which grows so abundantly in most parts of South America, might be turned, here as elsewhere, to very considerable account for many useful purposes. I have in my possession some paintings done in Peru upon a good canvas cloth made of it by the natives, which could not be distinguished from any similar tissue of European make.

At Buenos Ayres, where the hedgerows are generally formed of the common aloe, I had an opportunity of trying various experiments with it, and had some cordage made from it of beautiful texture and whiteness by some sailors from one of his Majesty's ships.* I also tried my hand at making pulqué, after seeing Mr. Ward's account of the manner in which it is made in Mexico; but, though we obtained an abundance of the liquor, following the process described by him of taking out the stem as soon as it began to shoot, and collecting the sap as it accumulated in the socket or basin beneath, it was never sufficiently palatable to our tastes to be drinkable; but this probably was from our want of experience in the mode of preparing it: however, I have no doubt that consumers enough might be found of this or any other such beverage amongst a people who can drink so filthy a preparation as the chicha, the liquor in common use amongst the natives of the united provinces,—the principal ingredient of which in the Upper Provinces and in the Andean Provinces of Peru and Bolivia is maize chewed by old Indian women; a disgusting process, but which renders it, I am told, more easy of fermentation in those cold regions.

In some of those saline and arid districts, where no

* In 1834 a series of trials was made at Toulon in order to ascertain the comparative strength of cables made of hemp and of the aloe (brought from Algiers), which resulted greatly in favour of the

latter. Of cables of equal size, that made from the aloe raised a weight of 2000 kilogrammes, that of hemp a weight of only 400.

other fresh water is to be found, there grows a plant, I believe an aloe or cactus, well known to the natives, from which, on an incision being made in one of the thickest leaves, a clear stream will spurt out sufficient to allay the traveller's thirst. In Yrala's first march from the Paraná to Peru, Schmidel, who was one of the party, mentions that but for the discovery of these water-bearing plants the Spaniards would have perished from thirst in crossing the sterile and desert countries they had to traverse.*

In many parts of Oran is grown the celebrated cuca, or coca, plant (*Erythroxylon Peruvianum*), sometimes called *el arbol del hambre y de la sed*,—"the tree of hunger and thirst;" to the natives more necessary than bread. Hungry or weary, with some leaves of coca to chew, mixed with a little lime or alkali of his own preparation, the Peruvian Indian seems to care for no other sustenance:—he never swallows it, but is perpetually chewing it, as the Asiatics do the betel-nut; give him but his bag full of this, with a little roasted maize, and he will undertake the hardest labour in the mines, and, as a courier, perform the most astonishing journeys on foot, frequently travelling a hundred leagues across the snowy and desolate regions of the Cordillera.

In the valleys watered by the Jujuy and its tributaries, as in many other parts of the republic, the indigo grows wild, and the sugar-cane and tobacco are extensively cultivated, the two latter being produced in sufficient quantity not only for the consumption of the whole of the province of Salta, but for exportation to the rest of the upper provinces, and occasionally to Chile. Cotton, also, is grown there in considerable quantities, and of a quality which, if cleaned, would be prized in the markets of Europe,—as indeed would be nearly all the valuable productions of this highly favoured region.

Although in this, as in every other part of the republic, the want of population may be considered as the great drawback to the full development of its natural resources, the Salteños, and especially those in the eastern districts

* See note at page 38, and Schmidel, chap. 46.

of the province, obtain assistance to a considerable extent in the cultivation of their lands from the Indians of the Mataco nation, who live upon the shores of the Vermejo, below the junction of the Jujuy.

These Indians, now an independent people, acknowledging no other authority than that of their own Caciques, were in former times reduced, in a certain degree, to civilised habits by the Jesuits, the fruits of whose influence are still perceptible in their occasional intercourse with their Christian neighbours, amongst whom they repair at the seasons of sowing and harvest to barter their labour in exchange for articles of clothing, and beads and baubles for their women.

They are very industrious, and in the allotment of work will undertake double the daily task of the Creoles:—the payment they receive for a month's work is from ten to fifteen yards of very coarse cloth or baize, the cost of which at Salta may be about a quarter of a Spanish dollar, or about a shilling a yard:—with this and their food they are perfectly content, and, at a similar rate, any number of them might be induced to leave their own haunts periodically to work in the sugar and tobacco plantations of the Spaniards. I was told by an Englishman, Mr. Cresser, who descended the Vermejo with Soria, and had been long resident at Oran, that many hundreds of them are yearly engaged at the rate above stated to get in the crops in the vicinity of that place.

When to this low rate at which productive labour may be obtained, we add the existence, now indisputably established, of an uninterrupted navigation the whole way from Oran to the Paraná, and thence to Buenos Ayres, it is impossible not to be struck with the very great natural advantages possessed by this province, and with the very small degree of energy apparently requisite on the part of the natives to turn them to the fullest account.

It is their own fault alone if the sugar and tobacco, the cotton, the indigo, and cochineal of Oran, do not vie with those of Brazil and Columbia in the markets of Europe. Let the people of these countries open their eyes to the importance of their own resources, and let them not ima-

gine that they themselves are incapable of calling them into action: unfortunately, such a feeling is one of those curses to the country engendered by the old colonial system of Spain, and which has the effect, to a lamentable extent, of counteracting that spirit of self-confidence and exertion which, on every account, is called for on the part of the inhabitants of these countries under their new political condition.

It is this feeling which has led them to turn their eyes to the formation of companies in Europe as the best mode of bringing their fertile lands into notice and cultivation,—an erroneous notion which cannot too soon be set right. I do not say that in the temperate climate of Buenos Ayres European labourers may not be employed to advantage; but when it becomes a question of sending them into the tropical regions in the heart of the continent, whether as agricultural labourers or miners, I am satisfied that the experiment would only end in utter disappointment to all parties.

In the first place, it should be borne in mind that, to ensure in Europe any sale for the productions of so remote a country, their cost must be extremely low, as it appears to be at present; but what labourer from Europe would be satisfied with anything like even double the ordinary remuneration for daily labour in that part of the world?

Supposing him, however, to be conveyed thither, and to be contented for a time with the abundance of the necessities of life around him, what does he know of the culture of tropical productions, the chances being that he never saw a sugar-cane or a cotton plant in the whole course of his life? But, what is of more consequence, how long will his physical powers resist a climate, the heat of which will be almost insufferable to him, and in which the very indulgence of his own ordinary habits will soon undermine his constitution and destroy all his energies?

In these countries it has been pretty well proved that Europeans will never be able to compete in amount of daily labour with the natives: wherever the trial has been made in South America, the Indian labourer has been found

capable of enduring an infinitely greater degree of bodily exertion than the most robust European, or even the African negro.* It is hardly credible, indeed, what these people will go through—in the mines especially, where the amount of their daily work and the loads they are capable of sustaining have excited the astonishment of every one who has paid the slightest attention to the subject. The stoutest of the Cornish miners who accompanied Captain Head in his visit to the mine of San Pedro Nolasco, was scarcely able to walk with a load of ore which one of the natives had with apparent ease brought out of the mine upon his shoulders, whilst two others of the party who attempted to lift it were altogether unable to do so, and exclaimed that it would break their backs.

In these observations I allude of course to the labouring class,—I speak of hands, not heads, for I fully agree in the necessity of introducing improvements in the cultivation of the native products,—which improvements will assuredly be best introduced by foreigners qualified by experience in other countries to superintend and direct those processes, both of cultivation and after preparation, which may be requisite to ensure their immediate sale in the foreign markets for which they are destined. Such persons; perhaps, would be best sought for in the East or West Indies or Brazil; and, no doubt, they would not only benefit themselves but their employers by introducing into these new countries the results of their practical experience elsewhere.

* Helms says: "The Indians are employed in South America in mining, &c., because in the mountains or mineral

districts no Negroes or Europeans can endure the daily alternation of heat and cold."

PROVINCES OF CUYO.

CHAPTER XIX.

SAN LUIS.

MENDOZA.

SAN JUAN.

WHEN the President La Gasca conferred the Government of Chile upon Don Pedro de Valdivia, he fixed its extent from the valley of Copiapó to the 41st parallel of latitude in the south; and its breadth east and west a hundred leagues inland from the sea.

In virtue of this grant, his more fortunate successor, Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, after subduing the Araucanians and completing their conquest, as he believed, by cruelly putting to death their brave old chief Caupolican, detached a portion of his forces into the plains lying to the eastward of the Andes, where he founded the towns of Mendoza and San Juan in 1559, in the lands of the *Coyunches* Indians.*

These townships, with the territories attached to them, and San Luis, subsequently founded, remained subject to the Captains-General of Chile till the year 1776, when they were separated from the jurisdiction of Chile, and annexed to the Government of the newly erected Vice-Royalty of Buenos Ayres.

In 1813, by a decree of the Constituent Assembly, they were formed into a distinct province, under the

* “Y primeramente el Presidente Gasca confirmó por Gobernador de Chile á Don Pedro de Valdivia, y le dió título de ello porque no le tenía legitimamente, y la Gobernacion se limitó desde el valle de

Copiapó hasta 41 grados Norte-sur-y-l’este-oeste cien leguas de la tierra adentro con entero poder para descubrir, poblar, y repartir la tierra.”—*Herrera*, Dec. viii. lib. iv.

denomination of the Province of Cuyo,* of which Mendoza was made the capital; but in this, as in the other divisions of the republic enacted about the same time, the bonds were too loosely knit to resist the shocks of party struggles and domestic convulsions; and this arrangement, though wisely planned, fell with the dissolution of the Central Government of Buenos Ayres in 1820.

But for the cabildos and municipal institutions which still existed in most of the principal towns of the interior when that government was broken up, I believe every semblance of a legitimate authority would have ceased. They retained to a certain extent powers not only for the preservation of the public peace, but for the administration of justice; and although perhaps, under the circumstances, they afforded facilities for confirming the establishment of the federal system in opposition to a more centralised form of government, there is no doubt they saved the insulated towns in the interior from worse consequences. Those institutions were by far the best part of the colonial system planted by the mother country, and they were framed upon principles of liberality and independence which formed a singular exception to her general colonial policy. I doubt whether those which in most cases have been substituted for them have been so wisely cast, or are so suitable to the state of society in those countries. The people at large were habituated and attached to them, and had they been retained, with some reforms adapting them to the new order of things, they might have been made the very best foundations for the new republican institutions of the country. But the truth was, they were essentially too democratic for the military power which arose out of the change; they succumbed to that, and the people, having no real voice in their new governments, made no struggle to preserve them.

* The word *Cuyo*, according to De Angelis, in the Araucanian language signifies *arena*, or sand, which is the general appearance of the soil about Mendoza.

THE PROVINCE OF SAN LUIS.

OF all the petty governments of the interior, that of San Luis is one of the most wretched. The inhabitants, estimated at from 20,000 to 25,000 souls, are thinly scattered over the estancias, or cattle-farms, at very long distances from each other, where they lead a life so far removed from anything like civilised society, that it may be doubted if their condition is really much better than that of the wild Indians, of whom they live in continual dread, and against whose fearful inroads their miserable provincial authorities can afford them no efficient protection. Their independence and weakness is a serious evil to the whole republic, which is in consequence of it left defenceless on its most assailable side.

The provinces of Cordova, Santa Fé, and Buenos Ayres are obliged to maintain each a separate militia to protect their frontiers thus left open to the savages; and the most important of all the communications in the republic, the road from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, is constantly unsafe from the total absence of all means on the part of the government of San Luis to make it otherwise. Every year this state of things goes on, the evil consequences become more manifest; and, unless the ridiculous independence of some of these insulated townships be put an end to by their re-annexation to their old provincial capitals, not only must their own interests be annihilated, but those of the republic at large must materially suffer. It is idle to look for any improvement under the present system, which can only lead to the diffusion of ignorance and moral degradation, if the wretched population does not altogether disappear under it.

The straggling mud-built town of San Luis de la Punta, which gives its name to the province, contains about 1500 inhabitants, all miserably poor. Bauza places it in lat. $33^{\circ} 17' 30''$, long. $65^{\circ} 46' 30''$. It is prettily situated on the western slope of one of a group of granitic hills, which

appear to be the last knolls of the Sierra de Cordova. Dr. Gillies gives it 2417 feet above the level of the sea, by barometrical observation, a greater elevation than the traveller from the Pampas perhaps would imagine. There is, however, a splendid prospect from it; the great saline lake of Bevedero glistening at a distance, and the interminable plains stretching away to the south, covered with a rich vegetation, brilliant with gaudy flowers, amongst which the bulbous plants are strikingly conspicuous.*

Towards sunset, the Cordillera, capped with snow, is often visible, though above 200 miles distant. It has been generally supposed to be Tupungato which is thus seen; but Tupungato does not rise above the limit of perpetual snow,† and is often entirely free from it; is it not more likely therefore to be Aconcagua, which Captains Beechey and FitzRoy found to attain the enormous elevation of 23,900 feet, upwards of 2500 higher than the famous Chimborazo, making it the highest point as yet determined in the New World? The direct distance of either from San Luis differs very slightly: Tupungato is 213, and Aconcagua 216 geographical miles from it; the latter being about 50 miles to the north of the other.

The gold-mines of La Carolina are about sixty miles to the north of San Luis, in the mountains, and eighty or ninety from the Morro, from which they may be reached by carts. They have long since been filled with water, and, as there are no capitalists or machinery to drain them, they are no longer worked, but the people of the hamlet wash and sift the alluvial soil collected at particular places (the *lavaderos*) in the neighbourhood, and so collect every year a quantity of gold in dust and small bean-like lumps, which they call *pepitas*. According to the official returns in the time of the Spanish Government, the pro-

* The cactus, which is found in every variety throughout the province of Cuyo, abounds in the neighbourhood of San Luis, and the natives collect the cochineal from it, and make it into cakes, which they use in dyeing their ponchos.

† Although from June to December it is either wholly or partially covered with snow, I have seen it in the month of May wholly bare, when only a few days before there had been heavy falls of snow on the

Cumbre, or central ridge, &c. I mention these facts to show that Tupungato cannot attain a higher level than that assigned to the limit of perpetual congelation, which in this latitude is about 15,000 feet, though, from the known height of the Cumbre, and its supposed elevation above the central ridge, I am disposed to conclude that its actual elevation cannot be far short of 15,000 feet.—*Miers*.

duce of one year, on which duty was paid, was about 150 lbs. At present the people take little trouble to collect more than is absolutely necessary to enable them to purchase at San Luis the few articles of clothing and horse gear which they require; if anything, they are even worse off than the gauchos upon the estancias. Captain Head paid them a flying visit, and has described the wretched poverty in which he found them.

San Luis, as the frontier-town of Chile to the eastward, was in former times the place where the Captains-General, when they crossed the Pampas from Buenos Ayres to take possession of their government, first received the honours due to them. It takes its name from Don Luis de Loyola, a Governor of Chile, who founded it in the year 1596.

By the road it is 226 leagues distant from Buenos Ayres, and 84 from Mendoza; and it is the only place that exceeds the description of a straggling village throughout the whole distance. The road which runs through it has been often described by those who have crossed the Pampas, and they have left little to say about it. By all accounts it seems to be a most uninteresting one; and the grand object, therefore, is to get over it with the greatest possible expedition.

The more common mode of performing the journey is on horseback; but this is necessarily attended with great fatigue, and the man must have an iron constitution who attempts it; although if he can live upon meat yet warm with life, or barely toasted over a gaucho fire, dispense with bread, drink brackish water, and sleep as a luxury upon the ground in the open air in spite of bugs as big as beetles, which will suck him like vampires, his saddle for a pillow, and the sky for his covering, and with such fare gallop a hundred miles a day, he may, barring accidents, reach Mendoza in eight or ten days. He will find no temptation to loiter on the way, though much to make him wish to reach his journey's end.

There are post-houses, or stations, along the whole line of road, where relays of horses may be had; wretched animals in general, to all appearance, though the work they will do is almost incredible, and that of course en-

tirely upon green food: it is true their gaucho riders never spare them, and their tremendous spurs, reeking with blood when they dismount, but too cruelly indicate in general the goad which has urged them on.

Unlike the Arab or the Cossack, the gaucho seems to have no kind feeling whatever for his horse: the intrinsic value of the animal being of no importance, if he drops on the way his rider cares not; he lassoes and mounts another beast, and abandons the exhausted one to the condors and vultures, always on the look-out for such a chance, and which will tear the flesh from the poor brute's bones as soon as they find he has not strength enough left to shake or kick them off. The mares lead a better life, being kept entirely for breeding; and custom is so strong that no consideration would induce a gaucho to mount one. The Pampa Indians have the same feeling, but they keep them for food as well as breeding; mare's flesh being preferred by them to any other—indeed it is their ordinary food.

But it is not absolutely necessary to go through the fatigue of riding on horseback across the Pampas, and, for those disposed to consult their ease, an admirable sort of carriage may be had at Buenos Ayres, called a *galera*, in appearance very much resembling a London omnibus; it is swung upon hide ropes, and is of light though very strong construction; and in this the journey as far as Mendoza may be performed in fourteen or fifteen days without difficulty.

At the same time that Captain Head started to ride on horseback across the Pampas, another friend of mine, with four or five persons in his suite, who was desirous to combine as much comfort as possible with such an undertaking, left Buenos Ayres in one of the carriages I have described; he had besides with him a *carretilla*, or cart on two wheels, for the conveyance of baggage, bedding, cooking utensils, &c., and much such a supply of *stock* as people would lay in for a voyage by sea of two or three weeks' duration. On reaching Mendoza, he sent me an account of his journey, from which I extract the following, for the benefit of those disposed to follow his example:—

“ Mendoza, December, 1825.

“ We reached this place on the morning of the eighteenth day from our leaving Buenos Ayres. Captain (now Sir Francis) Head, who started on horseback at the same time, did it in nine, but with so much fatigue as to be obliged to lie up for some days afterwards to recruit. We might easily have done it in our carriage in fourteen or fifteen, for we galloped nearly the whole way, as he did, but for the tiresome stoppages we were continually obliged to make in order to repair our cart; these kept us half a day at one place, one day at another, and two whole ones at San Luis.

“ Though you laughed, as well you might, at our set-out, and at the appearance of our galera and carretilla, stuffed with my manifold preparations for personal comfort, I can truly say, now the expedition is over, that of all carriage contrivances the galera is infinitely the best calculated for an excursion across the Pampas; ours was remarkably easy over the roughest roads, capable of resisting all injury from them, and its high wheels well adapted for preventing our sinking in the quagmires, whilst it formed a comfortable bedroom at night.

“ Of the carretilla I cannot speak favourably:—from its construction it was not suited to keep pace with the galera; two galeras would be better, especially if there were ladies of the party, in which case one might be fitted especially for their convenience, with couches for sleeping, &c. The pies and provisions might be stowed away in lockers, as the sailors would call them, made for the purpose; and the more good things in the shape of eatables and drinkables you can get into them the better, unless you have the stomach of an ostrich to digest what the gauchos offer you. The filth of the post-houses is beyond description, dirt and vermin of every kind in them, and no accommodation of any sort for the traveller; even our peons preferred sleeping in the open air, and you would not suspect them of being over nice.

“ The country is more uninteresting than any I ever travelled over, in any quarter of the globe. I should divide it into five regions:—first, that of thistles, inhabited

by owls and biscachas ; secondly, that of grass, where you meet with deer and ostriches, and the screaming horned plover ; thirdly, the region of swamps and bogs, only fit for frogs ; fourthly, that of stones and ravines, where I expected every moment to be upset ; and, lastly, that of ashes and thorny shrubs, the refuge of the tarantula and binchuco, or giant bug.

“Its geological aspect differed from what I expected. I should say that, to the north and south of Mendoza, there have been volcanoes, the eruptions from which have covered the country (perhaps the bed of a sea) with ashes as far as San Luis : the peculiar soil so formed, combined with the effects of climate and the salt lakes, may perhaps account for the particular species of thorny plants which are undescribed and confined to this region. The mountain streams, overflowing the saline lakes, are the origin of the vast swamps between San Luis and the Rio Cuarto ; and the decomposed granite and gneiss from the Sierra de Cordova gives rise to the difference in the soil, and to its elevation along the Rio Tercero.”

Whatever may be the monotony of the Pampas, most people would prefer the overland ride across them to a lengthened sea voyage round Cape Horn. So it was in the case of my friend, and others who have since published accounts of their travels. A like feeling gave rise to a very remarkable feat, which will long be memorable in the annals of Pampa travelling, performed in 1849 by some adventurous Frenchmen bound for the gold diggings in California, but who had been driven by bad weather into Monte Video on the way. Heartily sea-sick, they there went on shore to proceed to Buenos Ayres, intending thence to cross the Pampas and rejoin their ship at Valparaiso.

Some of them fortunately were old soldiers ; all were armed with guns, and with these and their knapsacks, carrying all a Frenchman needs, they started, as most people do, to commence their journey on horseback ; but it turned out that the greater part of them were unused to riding, and suffered so much from the rough saddles of the country that, after trying it for two days, they dis-

mounted, and came to the determination, to the great astonishment of their guides, to go on on foot.

In traversing the Pampas they found no difficulty, with their guns, in supplying themselves with an abundance of game, and their gaiety and merry songs made them welcome visitors at every rancho they reached, though the gauchos could not conceal their wonder and pity that such noble fellows should think of preferring to trudge on foot like dogs to riding on horseback like men.

Whilst crossing the wilds of San Luis they were suddenly beset by a party of marauding Indians, shaking their long lances, and prepared, as usual, for fight to the death; but the gallant Frenchmen, not perhaps unprepared for such an event, threw themselves at once into square, and, with front rank kneeling, and unmistakeable aim, presented so impenetrable a mass, and so formidable a battery, that the savages, after riding round them, were afraid to attack them, and thought it better to make signals for a parley, which ended in a formal treaty of peace between them, the more readily agreed to perhaps when they found the strangers were not Spaniards of the country, but from a far off land.

The fame of this adventure preceded the travellers, and ensured them respect as well as kindness as they proceeded on their weary march, which they finally completed by crossing the Cordillera without loss or casualty, reaching Valparaiso, where they found their ship waiting for them, in little more than a couple of months from the day of their leaving Buenos Ayres.

THE PROVINCE OF MENDOZA

occupies a space of something more than 150 miles from north to south, along the eastern side of the Cordillera of the Andes, and nearly an equal distance from east to west, measured from the Desaguadero to the central ridge of the Andes. The northern boundary is formed by a line passing east and west through the post station of Chañar, about eighteen miles north of the city, which divides it from the jurisdiction of San Juan. To the south the nominal frontier line is the river Diamante, although lands beyond that river have been purchased from the Indians, which are likely, perhaps, to become some of the most valuable of the province, especially for the purposes of cattle breeding, for which those in the vicinity of Mendoza are not suitable.

The river Desaguadero is the boundary line between the provinces of San Luis and Mendoza. This river is the drain of a singular chain of lakes known by the name of Guanacache, formed by the confluence of the river Mendoza, which runs into them from the south, and the San Juan river, which, after passing the town or city so called, falls into them from the north.

The Desaguadero, after receiving these rivers, runs first in an easterly direction, and afterwards south, into a vast lake called the Bevedero, below the town of San Luis:—a portion, also, of the waters of the river Tunuyan are lost in the same great sack-like lake, which thus becomes the reservoir of the greater part of the streams which issue from the Andes between the thirty-first and the thirty-fourth degree of latitude.

It is said that in former times the Tunuyan also, like the rivers of Mendoza and San Juan, had no other outlet, but that river, at a later period, opened for itself a new channel, and though a portion of its waters are still carried into the Bevedero, the greater part of them turn off to the south before reaching it in a stream called the Rio Nuevo

by Bauza, and the Desaguadero by Cruz,* which runs in that direction a considerable distance, till the Diamante and Chadileubú rivers join it, and together they form another great inland water without any outlet, called the *Urrélaquen*, or Bitter Lake, from its extreme saltness, as described in Chapter XII. The account of this lake given to Cruz by the Indians who accompanied him in his journey across that part of the Pampas in 1806, has been verified of late years by General Aldao, who personally examined it in an expedition which he commanded against the savages in 1833, when he rode round it, and ascertained that it had no outlet.

The river Tunuyan rises from the base of the high mountain of Tupungato, and at first runs south through a wide and rich valley in the Cordillera; passing eastward of the volcano of Maypú, or Peuquenes, it afterwards finds its way through the eastern ridge of this longitudinal valley of the Andes by a deep chasm, which it seems to have burst for itself through the mountains seven or eight miles below the Portillo Pass, and nearly opposite to where the Maypú leaves the Cordillera on the western side: thence its course through the plains is north, and afterwards eastward, in the direction of the great lake Bevedero, as already stated.

It would seem as though Nature had expressly directed the course of these rivers, viz., the Mendoza, Desaguadero, and Tunuyan, in such a way as to facilitate to the inhabitants the means of artificially irrigating their lands, which, from the quality of the soil and the rarity of rain, would be otherwise barren and unproductive.† As it is, the quantity of lands artificially watered by ducts from the rivers Mendoza and Tunuyan is estimated at many thousand square leagues, and these lands, which are arid and barren when not so watered, become, under regular irrigation, uncommonly rich and fertile, yielding frequently, under a very rude and simple mode of agriculture, more than a hundred-fold. Wheat, barley, and maize are thus grown; besides which there are extensive

* Dr. Gillies says where the Diamante joins it, it is called the Salado.

† In the more southern parts of the province, in the direction of the Dia-

mante, corn may be grown without the labour and expense of artificial irrigation, the rains which fall there being sufficient to render it unnecessary.

vineyards and orchards, and grounds covered with lucern grass for the fattening of cattle, all regularly enclosed, and walled in with thick mud walls, called *tapiales*.

The products of the province are wine, brandy, raisins, figs, wheat, flour, hides, tallow, and soap; the last made from the soda which abounds in most parts of it: a considerable portion of these is sent to the provinces of Cordova, San Luis, and Buenos Ayres, as well as to Chile, on mules, numerous troops of which so loaded are continually to be met with on the road.



The quantities so disposed of will be best understood by the official return given in the note below of the exports for a single year:*

* *Exports of Produce of Mendoza during the year 1827.*

Where sent.	Brandy.		Wine.		Corn and Flour.	† Dried Fruits.	Hides.	Soap.	Tallow.
	Pipes.	Loads.	Pipes.	Loads.	Loads.	Loads.	No.	Loads.	Loads.
Buenos Ayres . .	336	2144	290	3120	1098	520	670	..	..
San Luis	..	70	..	488	1634	85	..	60	..
Cordova	..	95	..	355	125	49	..	..	..
Santa Fé	..	81	..	172	469	39	..	..	..
Chile	..	12	..	..	..	..	8700	571	88
	336	2402	290	4135	4452	693	9370	631	88

† The dried fruits consist of figs, peaches, apples, nuts, olives, &c. Between 300 and 400 mules were sold for Chile in the same year. The load or carga is equal to about 200 lbs.

In addition to these native products, the mineral riches of the province are various and valuable. The silver mines of Uspallata have at times been very productive, and in other parts of the same range veins, both of silver and copper, are known to exist, though want of capital and labourers has hitherto prevented their being opened. With respect to the working of these mines by English companies, and in the English manner, the best opinions seem to agree that it would not answer to make the attempt.

Mr. Miers carefully examined the mines at Uspallata, and has given a particular account of the mode in which they are worked by the natives, and of the process resorted to for separating the silver from the ore. At the time he visited them they were not yielding more than two marks per caxon,* a very low average, upon which he has taken the trouble to make calculations to show that the English mode of smelting can never be brought into competition with the process of amalgamation as practised in South America.

He says: "To ensure economical results, the aid alone of the people of the country, as well as the application of their peculiar habits and management, must be resorted to: wherever English improvements are attempted to supersede the old methods, such trials would be attended with loss. No one," he adds, "can doubt but that in the barbarous mode of operation followed in Chile great loss of product is occasioned; but when this loss is placed in competition with the increased cost of labour, materials, and management necessary to ensure a greater amount of produce, the inference is irresistible that it is better to put up with this loss than to expend a sum of money far beyond the value of what can be obtained by adopting the improved methods used in countries where facilities abound which can hardly be procured at any price in Chile and La Plata."

Captain Head, after seeing them, came to a similar conclusion: he considered that, although they might yield

* The mark is eight Spanish ounces, or seven ounces, three pennyweights, four-teen grains, troy, English. The caxon is fifty quintals, or 5000 lbs. of ore.

a liberal return under the more economical plan of employing native labourers properly directed, and at the ordinary low rate of wages paid for such labour in that part of the country, from the want of water, wood for fuel, and pasturage for cattle throughout the region in which they are situated, they would not repay the cost of working them by machinery, or by an English establishment.

In all this part of the Cordillera is to be found an abundance of limestone, gypsum, alum, mineral pitch, bituminous shales with appearances of coal in many places, slates, and a variety of saline deposits, amongst others common and Glauber salts.

The same metalliferous chain of the Andes extends, according to Gillies, with little interruption from Chile to Peru, and contains the greater part of the gold and silver mines yet known on the eastern ranges of the great Cordillera, including, besides those of Uspallata, the mines of the province of San Juan, and further north those of Famatina in La Rioja. It is separated from the central ridge of the Andes by an extensive valley, or succession of valleys, running northwards from Uspallata, through which it is said that an ancient road of the Peruvians is to be traced at the present day nearly to Potosi, a point well worth the attention of the antiquarian, and of great interest as connected with the state of civilization which the aborigines had attained before their conquest by the Spaniards.

The population of the province of Mendoza is calculated to be from 35,000 to 40,000 souls, about a third of which is resident in the city and its immediate vicinity. The executive power is vested in a Governor, periodically chosen, as in the other provinces, by the Junta or Provincial Assembly.

A visible improvement has taken place in the condition of the people of Mendoza since their independence of Spain; for, although at so vast a distance from the capital, like Salta, its position as a frontier town has given it some special advantages; it has led to communications with foreigners, and to a traffic with Chile and with Buenos Ayres, which, by teaching them the value of their own resources, has

roused a sort of commercial spirit amongst the inhabitants, and has stimulated them to more industrious habits. It owes very much to San Martin, who was appointed Governor of the Province in 1815, and who there collected the forces with which two years afterwards he made his celebrated passage across the Andes, and descending into Chile established the independence not only of that State, but subsequently of Peru.

The government has taken pains to establish schools for the education of all classes; and the setting up of a printing press, from which for a time there issued an occasional newspaper, has been of great use, not only in opening the eyes of the people at large to the proceedings of their own rulers, but in furnishing them with some notion as to what is going on from time to time in other parts of the world.

They are in general a healthy and well-conditioned race—descended, many of them, from families originally sent from the Azores by the Portuguese government to colonise Colonia del Sacramento on the river Plate, and made prisoners and settled in those remote parts by Cevallos, during the war which preceded the peace of 1777. It is much owing to them that the cultivation of the vine has been so extensively introduced in this part of the Republic.

The city of Mendoza, which, according to Bauza, is in south latitude $32^{\circ} 53'$, west longitude $69^{\circ} 6'$, at an elevation of 2891 feet above the sea, and at the very foot of the Andes, is shut out from any view of the great Cordillera by a dusky range of lower hills which intervene. Its appearance is neat and cheerful: the houses, for the most part, built of sun-burnt bricks, plastered and white-washed, and the streets laid out at right angles, as usual in that part of the world. It boasts of an Alameda, or public walk, said to equal anything of the kind laid out, as yet, in South America: it is nearly a mile long, neatly kept, and shaded by rows of magnificent poplars: there are seats and pavilions at either end for the accommodation of the inhabitants, by whom it is much frequented as a lounge, especially of an evening.

The climate is delightful and salubrious, and is remarkably beneficial to persons suffering from pulmonary affections. The only ailment to which the people seem more liable here than in the interior is the goître, which I suppose may be attributed to the same causes, whatever they are, which seem to produce it in almost all alpine districts.

It was from the province of Mendoza that I obtained that very remarkable little animal figured in the annexed plate, and which is now in the collection of the Zoological Society of London. It has hitherto been only found in the provinces of Cuyo, and even there but rarely: it burrows in the ground, and in its habits somewhat resembles the mole, lying dormant during the winter months: the natives call it the *Pichi-ciego*, "the little blind animal." Dr. Harlan of New York was the first to give an account of it, from an imperfect specimen sent to him from Mendoza, and he gave it the name of *chlamyphorus truncatus*.

At the request of the Council of the Zoological Society, Mr. Yarrell drew up a particular account of its osteology, which was published in the third volume of their Journal, and from which, with his permission, I extract the following observations upon its comparative anatomy:—

"From the representation of the skeleton and its different parts it will be perceived that the *chlamyphorus truncatus* has points of resemblance to several other quadrupeds, but that it possesses also upon each comparison many others in which it is totally different.

"It resembles the beaver (*castor fiber*) in the form and substance of some of the bones of the limbs, in the flattened and dilated extremity of the tail, and the elongation of the transverse processes of the lower caudal vertebræ, but no further.

"It has much less resemblance to the mole (*talpa Europea*) than its external form and subterranean habits would induce us to expect. In the shortness and great strength of the legs, and in the articulation of the claws to the first phalanges of the toes, it is similar; but in the form of the bones of the anterior extremity, as well as in the compressed claws, it is perfectly different; nor do the

articulations of the bones, nor the arrangement of the muscles, allow any of the lateral motion so conspicuous in the mole; the hinder extremities of the chlamyphorus are also much more powerful. It resembles the sloth (*bradypus tridactylus*) in the form of the teeth and in the acute descending process of the zygoma; but here all comparison with the sloth ceases.

“The skeleton of the chlamyphorus will be found to resemble that of the armadillo (*dasypi species plures*) more than any other known quadruped. In the peculiar ossification of the cervical vertebræ, in possessing the sesamoid bones of the feet, in the general form of all the bones, except those of the pelvis, as well as in the nature of the external covering, they are decidedly similar; they differ, however, in the form and appendages of the head, in the composition and arrangement of the coat of mail, and particularly in the posterior truncated extremity and tail.

“There is a resemblance to be perceived in the form of some of the bones of the chlamyphorus to those of the *orycteropus capensis* and *myrmecophaga jubata*, as might be expected in animals belonging to the same order. To the *echidna* and *ornithorhynchus* it is also similar in the form of the first bone of the sternum, and in the bony articulations, as well as the dilated connecting plates, of the true and false ribs.

“It becomes interesting to be able to establish even small points of similarity between the most extraordinary quadrupeds of New Holland and those of South America; that continent producing in the various species of *didelphis* other resemblances to the *marsupiated*. In the form of the lower jaw, and in other points equally obvious, the chlamyphorus exhibits characters to be found in some species of *ruminantia* and *pachydermata*.

“In conclusion I may remark that in the composition and arrangement of its external covering, and in its very singular truncated extremity, the chlamyphorus is peculiar and unique; and if a conjecture might be hazarded, in the absence of any positive knowledge of the habits of the animal, it is probable that it occasionally assumes an

upright position, for which the flattened posterior seems admirably adapted. It is also unique in the form and various appendages of the head, and most particularly in possessing an open pelvis, no instance of which, as far as I am acquainted, has ever as yet occurred in any species of mammalia."



C. Schacht del. et lithog.

CHLAMYPHORUS.

2/3 the Natural Size.

THE PROVINCE OF SAN JUAN,

which adjoins that of Mendoza, occupies the space between the great Cordillera and the mountains of Cordova, as far north as the Llanos, or plains, of La Rioja. It is said to contain about 25,000 inhabitants, governed, at present, like those of Mendoza, and occupied very much in the same manner, in the cultivation of their vineyards and gardens, and in agricultural pursuits. Their exports of brandies and wines to the other provinces are little short of those from Mendoza, and the quantity of corn they annually grow has been estimated at from 100,000 to 120,000 English bushels. The same lands produce yearly crops under the process of artificial irrigation from waters highly charged with alluvial matter. The ordinary crops are 50 for 1, in better lands 80 to 100, and in some, as at Augaco, about five leagues to the north of the city of San Juan, they have been known to yield 200 and 240. The price in the province is from one and a half to two Spanish dollars for a fanega, equal there to about two and a half English bushels. The wages of a day labourer are from five to six dollars a month, besides his food, which may be worth a rial a day more.

In times of scarcity corn has been sent from San Juan to Buenos Ayres, a distance of upwards of a thousand miles; but this can never answer under ordinary circumstances, from the great expense attending the land carriage. It is different with the wines and brandies, which, after all charges, can be sold in most of the provinces of the interior, and even at Buenos Ayres, at a fair profit. They are in general demand amongst the lower orders, and, if pains were taken with them, might be very much improved. I have had samples of as many as eight or ten different qualities, all of them good, sound, strong bodied wines, and only requiring more care in their preparation for

market. At present they are made by boiling the juice of the grape.

In the northern part of this province, in the lower ranges of the Cordillera, is the district of Jachal, in which are what are called the Gold Mines:—they are, as far as I could learn, much in the same state as those of La Carolina in the province of San Luis, already spoken of. Their yearly produce was estimated, in 1825, at 80,000 dollars, the greater part of which was sent to Chile to be coined at the mint of Santiago. The accuracy of this calculation has been disputed, but, even if true to its fullest extent, the amount is of no great consequence.

The situation of the city of San Juan is in latitude $31^{\circ} 4'$, according to Molina. Mr. Arrowsmith has placed it in longitude $68^{\circ} 57' 30''$.

The climate is described as most delightful, and the people as a well-disposed race, extremely anxious to improve both their moral and political condition. In this they have had chiefly to struggle with the countervailing influence of an ignorant, vicious, and bigoted priesthood, which has been greatly opposed to all innovations:—the political power, however, of this class of persons is fast on the wane at San Juan, as in most other parts of the Republic.

In December, 1833, San Juan was nearly destroyed by a sudden inundation of waters from the Cordillera, which washed down three churches and many houses, with great loss of life and property to the unfortunate inhabitants.

PASSES OF THE ANDES.

CHAPTER XX.

I SHALL conclude this part of my work with a list of the passes across the Andes from the several provinces of this republic of which I have been able to collect any precise information; they are twelve in number:—

First.—The most northerly is a continuation of the road called the Despoblado, which crosses the mountainous districts of the north-western part of the province of Salta by the mines of Yngaguasi to Atacama.

Second.—A pass from Antofagasta, in the province of Catamarca, which, crossing the Cordillera at the Portezuela de Come Cabello, 14,500 feet above the sea, communicates with Guasco and Copiapó in Chile.*

Third.—Another, further south, leads from the province of San Juan to Coquimbo, by the Portezuela de la Laguna, at an elevation of 15,575 feet.

Fourth.—That called Los Patos, on the north flank of the great snowy peak of Aconcagua, descending into Chile by the valley of the Putaendo, a small river which joins the larger one of Aconcagua in the plains below, near the town of San Felipe. It was by this road that General San Martin made his celebrated march over the Andes with the army of Buenos Ayres in 1817, which led to the liberation of Chile from the Spanish yoke.

* According to Myen, a recent traveller, this part of the Cordillera is not so elevated as more to the south; he says it is passable at several points of the province of Copiapó.

M. Domeyko, who recently visited three of these passes, gives their positions and heights as follows:—

	<i>Latitude.</i>	<i>Height in Feet.</i>
Come Cabello	27° 30' ..	14,520
Dona Aña	29° 36' ..	14,829
Portezuela de la Laguna, leading to San Juan	30° 50' ..	15,575

Fifth.—The pass of the Cumbre by Uspallata, the road most usually taken by travellers proceeding from Mendoza to Santiago de Chile, and which has been very particularly described by several Englishmen who have gone that way. Of the published accounts that of Mr. Miers is perhaps the best, as he had the most opportunities of making it so, having crossed it no less than four times, once with his wife, who was taken in labour upon the road.

Lieutenant Brand's is also interesting, from his having crossed at the season when the Cordillera was covered with snow, which obliged him to proceed on foot a great part of the way, and to encounter fearful risks, which he has very graphically described.

The whole distance from Mendoza to Santiago is 107 post leagues; and the highest part of the Andes crossed is (by barometrical measurement), according to Dr. Gillies, 12,530 feet above the sea: Mr. Miers says about 600 feet less. From the commencement of November to the end of May, occasionally a few weeks sooner or later, this road is passable the whole distance on mules; for the rest of the year it is generally closed to all but foot-passengers, and the crossing is then attended with considerable danger; many lives have been lost in attempting it.

A striking object on this road is the splendid arch called the Inca's Bridge, seventy-five feet over, which nature has thrown across a ravine one hundred and fifty feet deep, through which runs the river of Las Cuevas, sometimes called the Colorado, from the colour of its waters, which are *brick red*. This natural arch is formed of a recent tufaceous limestone, deposited from the calcareous springs which abound in the neighbourhood, in the same manner as the celebrated natural bridge of St. Alleyre, near Clermont, in Auvergne. These springs issue from a calcareous formation, which contains beds of fossil shells at an elevation of 8,650 feet above the sea, and which the celebrated geologist Von Buch has referred to the lowest period of the chalk formations.

Sixth.—About half way over, near the station called the Punta de las Vacas, a road branches off to the valley

of Tupungato, and afterwards crosses the Cordillera to the north of the peak so called, descending on the opposite side into Chile by the valley of the little river Dehesa, from which it is called the Dehesa Pass: it is seldom used.

Seventh.—South of the mountain of Tupungato, in S. lat. $32^{\circ} 24'$ ($33^{\circ} 24'$, according to Gillies), is the Portillo Pass, which falls into the valley of the river Maypú in Chile, with the Rio del Yeso. By many travellers it is preferred to the high road by Uspallata, being the shorter way of the two by twenty leagues; it is, however, seldom open longer than from the beginning of January to the end of April, the greater elevation of that part of the Cordillera causing it to be longer blocked up by the snow. Of this pass a very interesting description will be found in Mr. Darwin's work.

The way to it from Mendoza runs southward, parallel to the mountains as far as the estancia of Totoral, upon the north bank of the river Tunuyan, distant about sixty-five miles from that city, and some twenty from the base of the Cordillera; thence the pass bears west-south-west, distant about thirty-six miles; the breach in the mountains through which the Tunuyan runs being plainly visible to the south of it.

This part of the Andes seems to consist of two great parallel ridges running nearly north and south, and separated from each other by the valley of the Tunuyan, the width of which is about twenty miles, and its elevation above the sea, where crossed by the road, about 7500 feet. Of the two ranges the eastern one is the highest, being, where the road crosses it, 14,365 feet above the sea:—this chain extends with little interruption from the river of Mendoza, southwards, to the Diamante, a distance of about 140 miles:—the western, or Chilian range, where crossed by the road, is not above 13,200 feet high.*

In this part of the Cordillera is situated the volcano of Peuquenes, or Maypú, eruptions from which have been frequent since the great earthquake which produced such disturbance in 1822:—they generally consist of ashes

* These heights are given on the authority of Dr. Gillies.

and clouds of punice-dust, which are carried by the winds occasionally as far as Mendoza, a distance little short of 100 miles. In crossing from the eastern to the western side of the valley of the Tunuyan, travellers have, at first, the summit of the volcano concealed from them, but about half way between that river and the pass of Peuquenes there is a good view of it eight or nine miles distant to the south:—the summit is generally covered with snow, and cannot be much less than 15,000 feet above the sea. It is from the punice-rock found in this neighbourhood that the people of Mendoza make basins for filtering the muddy water of their river.

Eighth.—To the south of this volcano is situated a pass called De la Cruz de Piedra, which enters the Cordillera where a small stream, the Aguanda, issues from it, about two leagues to the north of the fort of San Juan:—it unites with the road by the Portillo pass on the opposite side of the Andes in the valley of the Maypú.

Ninth.—Further south one little frequented unites the valleys of the rivers Diamante and Cachapoal: this is previous to reaching the volcano of Peteroa, beyond which are situated the passes of Las Damas and of the Planchon.

Tenth.—Of these, the Las Damas, or ladies' pass, enters the Cordillera from Manantial in the valley of the river Atuel, and descends by that of the Tinguiririca, which issues from the mountain of San Fernando:—this was the pass which M. de Souillac, in 1805, reported might, at a very small expense, be rendered passable for wheel-carriages.* The highest points traversed by this road are El Llano de los Morros at an elevation of 11,600 feet, and El Llano de los Choicos 10,170 (according to Gillies).

Eleventh.—The road by the Planchon leads to Curico and Talca, following the courses of the rivers Claro and Teno:—on neither of these roads does the elevation exceed 11,600 feet, or the vegetation ever cease.

* Zamudio, an officer in the service of Buenos Ayres, who examined it the year before M. de Souillac, is said to have

actually passed it with a two-wheel cart. Dr. Gillies does not give so favourable an account of its present state.

The twelfth pass is that of Antuco, from which Cruz started in 1806 to cross the Pampas to Buenos Ayres:—the road by it to Concepcion in Chile follows the valleys of the rivers Laxa and Biobio. A short distance beyond the volcano in the vicinity of this pass, which Cruz could not get up, but which has since been ascended by M. Pœppig, a German naturalist, and more recently in 1845 by M. Domeyko, lies a ridge called the *Silla Velluda*, rising, according to Pœppig's estimation, to the height of 17,000 feet, on the rugged sides of which, below the snow and glaciers, are to be traced ranges of basaltic columns. Sections of this group have been published by M. Domeyko in the 'Annales des Mines' for 1848. He says, the columns are not basaltic, but porphyritic, resembling by their prismatic forms basalt at a distance. He fixes the elevation of the highest part of the cone of Antuco at 2800 metres.

Of the most frequented of these passes, viz., those by Uspallata and the Portillo, there are, as I have already said, several accounts in print; but as I know of no Englishman except the late Dr. Gillies who has examined those of Las Damas and the Planchon with any attention, I shall here quote part of a letter which he wrote to me in 1827, describing a short excursion he made by them in that year; and I do so the rather because it also gives some account of the intervening country, which has never, as far as I know, been described by any one else:—

“About the middle of May I returned from an excursion of ten weeks to the south, which I had long meditated. After reaching the river Diamante, the southern boundary of the province of Mendoza, I crossed that river and ascended the Cerro del Diamante, and at every step found ample evidence of its volcanic origin: the ascent was covered with masses of lava, and near the summit with loose pumice.

“The upper part of the mountain consists of a ridge elevated a little at each of the extremities into a rounded form, on the north side of which, a little below the summit, is a plateau about 400 yards in diameter, which undoubtedly has been formerly the crater of a volcano. It appears to rest on an immense bed of pumice-

stone. On the steep banks of the Diamante opposite strata of it are laid open on both sides :—on the south bank I traced one great mass of pumice-rock, 100 feet long and 145 wide, the whole forming distinct basaltic pillars.

“From this interesting spot we proceeded towards the mountains of the Andes, and amongst the first low hills examined several springs of petroleum, about which it is curious to observe the remains of a variety of insects, birds, and animals, which, having got entangled there, have been unable to extricate themselves :—so tenacious is this substance that (as I was assured by an eye-witness) some years ago a lion was found in the same situation, which had made fruitless attempts to escape.

“Following the base of this lower range southward, after a few leagues we reached the banks of the river Atuel, a copious stream much larger than either the river of Mendoza or the Tunuyan :—its bed, very unlike that of the Diamante, is very little lower than the surrounding plains, which gradually slope off to the eastward for twelve or fourteen leagues, as I had an opportunity afterwards of observing. The north bank, where we crossed it, seems admirably adapted for an agricultural settlement ; it is there that the several roads diverge across the Cordillera to San Fernando, Curico, and Talca, in Chile ; and to the south into the country of the Indians.

“We proceeded from thence towards the Planchon, along a succession of valleys rich in pasturage, but very bare of shrubbery : in several places we saw immense masses of gypsum, and passed a mountain from which is obtained an aluminous earth, much used in Chile as a pigment for dyeing.

“The pass of the Planchon is along the north shoulder of a lofty mountain, apparently composed of sonorous slaty strata. My barometer unfortunately got out of order before I reached the highest elevation ; but, as vegetation extends to the top of the pass, it must be considerably lower than the passes of the Portillo and of Uspallata, on both of which all vegetation ceases long before reaching the higher points of the road. The descent from the Planchon is very rough, and in many places steep : at a

distance of three leagues from the top we reached our resting-place, surrounded by luxuriant vegetation, and thence descended to Curico, along a valley with steep mountains on either side, and through a continuous thicket of lofty trees and shrubs, amongst which I may enumerate the Chilian cypress, the quillay, the canelo or cinnamon-tree, the caustic laurel, a variety of myrtles, a beautiful fuchsia, and others no less interesting.

“From Curico we went to Talca, a considerable town, and thence explored the river Maule, with a view to its capabilities for navigation. We returned by Curico to San Fernando, where we re-entered the Cordillera by the valley of the Tinguiririca to ascend the pass of Las Damas: the road was very similar to that we had previously descended from the Planchon to Curico; but, being much less frequented, it was in many places difficult and dangerous.

“In the upper part of this valley we examined some hot springs, the temperature of which reached 170° of Fahrenheit. Thence we were induced to devote two days to visit a volcano,—which was described to us as being in an active state,—about ten leagues distant: thither we proceeded by a most rugged and dangerous path, and reached within half a league of the summit, when so serious a snow-storm came on, that we had the mortification of being forced to return without accomplishing our object; nor had we any time to lose, for the snow had so obliterated all traces of the way, that our guide was completely lost, and, but for the observations I had taken with my compass, I know not how we should have got back at all.

“On reaching our mules again, the weather was so unpromising that we made all haste to recross the mountains, lest they should be closed against us by the heavy snow which was falling; this we happily accomplished, and three days brought us back again to the place where we had first crossed the Atuel river. After visiting the extensive saline lakes in that vicinity, from which the province is supplied with salt, we bent our way back to Mendoza.

“In this journey I had an opportunity I had long de-

sired of examining on the Cordillera the plant from the root of which the natives of Chile obtain their admirable red dye."

The late Dr. Gillies, the writer of this letter, was a young Scotch physician, who passed many years at Mendoza, where he recovered from a severe pulmonary affection, and was himself a striking instance of the beneficial effects of the climate under such circumstances. Botany was his favourite pursuit; but he did not confine himself to that, and never lost an opportunity of collecting useful information on every other point which fell under his notice.

His botanical discoveries were, I believe, chiefly communicated to Sir William Hooker, through whom they were occasionally made known to the public. His collections of the ores of Uspallata and other parts of the Cordillera were given to the College Museum at Edinburgh.

BUENOS AYRES

AND THE

PROVINCES OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA.

PART IV.

CHAPTER XXI.

TRADE OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA.

Advantageous situation of the Rio de la Plata for Commerce, external and internal — Buenos Ayres and Monte Video the ports of entry for the supply of the people of the interior — Tables showing the Exports of Produce from Buenos Ayres at various periods from 1822 to 1851, and whence derived — Great increase in their value and quantity of late years, from Increase of Territory and Foreign Blockades — Hides — Tallow — Wool — Details of the trade from Great Britain, France, the North of Europe, Italy, Spain, the United States, and Brazil — Shipping employed — Comparative Table of Exportations of British Produce and Manufactures to all the New States of Spanish South America and to Spain in the last twenty years.

It is impossible to look at a map of South America without being struck with the manifest importance of the Rio de la Plata in a commercial point of view.

From the river Amazon along a line of coast extending 2000 miles it affords the only means of communication with all those vast regions in the interior of the continent which are bounded by Brazil on the east and by the mountain chains of the Andes to the west. Not only all the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, including Paraguay, but the State of Bolivia and a considerable portion of Peru are as yet only accessible, by way of the Rio de la Plata, from the side of the Atlantic.

If at present there is but little intercourse between these States, it is attributable to political causes alone, and to those limited notions on matters of trade which are perhaps to be expected from Governments in their infancy, and amongst a people who have known nothing but the restrictive policy of old Spain.

The people of Bolivia, and of all those portions of Peru lying to the east of the Cordillera of the Andes, whose wants from Europe were formerly supplied through Buenos

Ayres, are now under separate Governments of their own, which seem anxious to make a display of their commercial as well as political independence of their old connexions by endeavouring to supply themselves through other channels more immediately under their own control on the coasts of the Pacific; but however that may answer, as no doubt it will to the people who inhabit the Provinces situated on the western slopes of the Andes, it must be evident that, so far as regards those to the eastward of the Cordillera, they must eventually be much more easily supplied with what they want from Europe by way of the Río de la Plata, especially when its great affluents are navigated by steam vessels, for which they are so admirably adapted, than by the present circuitous route round Cape Horn, and the subsequent very difficult and expensive conveyance by mule-carriage across the sandy deserts of Atacama and the precipitous passages of the Andes.

As these young States acquire more practical knowledge of their real interests, it may be expected that they will make arrangements amongst themselves for an exchange of commercial advantages for their mutual benefit; and turn to better account the means of internal communication which nature seems expressly to have provided for them.

In the mean time, however, the trade of the Río de la Plata is limited to the people of the Provinces so called and of the State of the Banda Oriental del Uruguay.

I need not say that Buenos Ayres is the capital of the Argentine Provinces, and Monte Video that of the Banda Oriental, and that these two places are the chief ports of entry through which the trade of these countries is carried on with foreign nations.

In treating generally of the trade with the Río de la Plata it does not appear to me to be necessary to enter into any discussion as to the more or less amount of it which, under special circumstances, may be carried on through either Buenos Ayres on the one side or Monte Video on the other. At whichever of these ports the largest amount of foreign goods is landed, it will be found

that they are for the most part destined for the consumption of the inhabitants of the countries watered by the Rio de la Plata and its tributaries, of which the people of Monte Video and of the Banda Oriental, taken separately, at present form a very insignificant element.

The amount of foreign goods, so totally out of all proportion to its population, which a few years back was landed at Monte Video, is solely to be ascribed to the blockades of Buenos Ayres, which temporarily diverted the trade from its ordinary course. Whenever Buenos Ayres has the misfortune to be so attacked, the advantageous situation of Monte Video as a neutral port will always give it importance as an entrepôt for goods eventually destined for the Provinces in the interior.

There is no doubt also that its situation offers facilities for the supply at all times by indirect means of the adjoining Provinces of Brazil and of the Argentine Confederation, of which the Monte Videans will probably avail themselves to the detriment of their neighbours' interests, unless in self-defence they so regulate their customs duties as to countervail all temptations to avoid them; and this observation applies especially to the duties levied by the Government of Buenos Ayres on goods intended for re-export either by land or water for the consumption of the people of the interior, and particularly those of the Riverine Provinces, subject as they must be afterwards to such heavy additional charges for transport, &c., ere they reach their final destination.

I have shown in Chapters V. and VI. of this volume the very limited nature of the trade of these countries under the colonial rule of Spain, as well as the circumstances which led to its being first thrown open to the English and other nations by the last Viceroy, Cisneros, in 1809. In my former work I traced its rise and progress up to 1837—it is now only necessary to show its subsequent development. In order best to do so, and beginning with the Exports, I have prepared the following four tables:—

EXPORTS.

No. 1, showing their amount from 1822 to 1837.

No. 2, a similar return from the middle of 1848 to the close of 1851.

No. 3, a return showing the several foreign countries for which the leading articles were shipped, and the amount of shipping of each, in 1850 and 1851.

No. 4 shows the proportion of these exports which are supplied from the Riverine Provinces.

These are independent of the produce exported from Monte Video, which, however limited in amount in the last period—1850-1—may be assumed to have been at least equal in value to any apparent excess in the general imports into the Rio de la Plata over and above the amount of exports from Buenos Ayres alone.

TABLE I.—Quantities and Estimated Valuation of the principal Articles Exported from Buenos Ayres in the years 1822, 1825, 1829, and 1837.

	1822			1825			1829			1837		
	Quantity.	Price.	Value.	Quantity.	Price.	Value.	Quantity.	Price.	Value.	Quantity.	Price.	Value.
		Dollars.	Dollars.		Dollars.	Dollars.		Dollars.	Dollars.		Dollars.	Dollars.
Spanish Dollars . . .	474,633	..	474,633	1,272,745	..	1,272,745	189,581	..	189,581	258,743	..	258,743
Marks of Silver . . .	84,690	at 8	677,520	10,559	at 8	89,751	12,699	at 8	101,592	4,831	at 8	39,048
Gold . . . ounces	12,020	17	204,340	10,625	17	180,625	24,595	17	418,115	21,999	17	373,983
Gold . . . uncoined	..	..	..	..	..	6,000	..	..	13,667	362	..	6,154
Copper . quintals of 100 lbs.	145	16	2,321	175	16	2,800	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ox hides . . .	590,372	4	2,361,488	655,255	5	2,621,020	854,799	4	3,419,196	823,635	4	3,294,540
Horse hides . . .	421,566	1	421,566	339,703	1	339,703	64,563	1½	96,844	25,367	1½	38,046
Jerked Beef . . . quintals	87,663	4	350,652	130,361	4	521,444	164,818	2	329,638	178,877	2½	446,192
Horns . . . per mil.	673,000	70	47,110	1,553,880	60	93,228	1,500,905	60	90,000	434,456	60	26,070
Horse-hair arrobas of 25 lbs.	38,137	3	114,411	44,776	3	134,028	26,682	3	110,046	70,372	3	211,116
Sheep's wool . . arrobas	33,417	1	33,417	..	..	..	30,334	1	30,334	164,706	2	329,412
Chinchilla skins . dozens	9,077	4	36,308	} 35,670	5	178,350	6,825	5	33,125	3,317	4	13,268
Nutria skins . . , ,	9,914	3	29,742		59,756	3	179,268	51,853	2½	129,632		
Tallow . . . arrobas	62,400	2	124,800	12,167	1½	18,250	21,757	3	65,271	100,249	1½	150,373
Bark . . . lbs.	5,824	½	2,912	5,879	½	2,939	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cotton . . . arrobas	..	..	..	2,000	2½	5,000	968	2	1,936	160	3	480
Sheep skins . . dozens	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	56,188	2½	140,470
Flour . . . fanegas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14,069	4	56,268
Corn . . . , ,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,150	3½	14,525
Sundry Minor Articles . .	..	..	118,780	..	..	84,117	..	..	121,387	..	..	108,818
Totals . . . { Value of Precious Metals, ...1,358,814	} 5,000,000			Precious Metals, 1,551,921			Precious Metals, 729,955			Precious Metals, 677,928		
.. Native Produce ...3,641,186				Native Produce, 8,998,079			Native Produce, 4,477,045			Native Produce, 4,959,510		
In 1822 . . . £	1,000,000			In 1825 . . . £			In 1829 . . . £			In 1837 . . . £		

In 1842 they were valued at £1,440,440, and in 1843 at £1,668,920. From September 1845 to June 1848, the port was blockaded.

TABLE II.—Quantities and Estimated Valuation of the principal Articles exported from Buenos Ayres, from July 1, 1848, to December 31, 1851.

No.		JULY 1 TO DEC. 31, 1848.			1849		1850		1851		No.
		Quantities.	Price.	Valuation.	Quantities.	Valuation.	Quantities.	Valuation.	Quantities.	Valuation.	
		£. s. d.		£		£		£		£	
1	Beef, jerked . quintals	209,435	0 8 0	83,774	559,969	223,987	390,731	156,292	431,873	172,749	1
2	Bones . . per 1000	1,536,600	0 15 0	1,152	3,220,265	2,415	3,110,730	2,333	3,538,367	2,654	2
3	„ . . tons	595	1 5 0	744	503	629	790	987	1,274	1,592	3
4	Feathers . . bales	..	40 0 0	..	116	4,640	50	2,000	107	4,280	4
5	Hair, bales and serons	1,866	20 0 0	37,320	4,441	88,820	5,059	101,180	4,623	92,460	5
6	Hides . . ox and cow	1,101,093	0 10 0	550,546	2,961,342	1,480,671	2,424,251	1,212,125	2,601,140	1,300,570	6
7	„ . . horse	62,183	0 3 9	11,652	238,514	44,721	187,107	35,082	140,677	26,377	7
8	Horns . . per 1000	912,795	5 10 0	5,016	1,969,788	10,835	1,917,150	10,543	2,865,720	13,007	8
9	Skins, calf . bales	340	17 0 0	5,750	371	6,307	144	2,448	193	3,281	9
10	„ „ deer . dozens	1,205	1 10 0	1,807	302	453	242	363	119	178	10
11	„ „ „ bales	16	20 0 0	320	24	480	36	720	36	720	11
12	„ „ „ dozens	4	0 8 0	2	..	..	120	48	7	2	12
13	„ „ goat . bales	27	20 0 0	540	103	2,060	122	2,440	185	3,700	13
14	„ „ „ dozens	132	0 7 0	46	52	18	50	17	25	8	14
15	„ „ nutria . bales	..	50 0 0	..	12	600	24	1,200	38	1,900	15
16	„ „ „ dozens	15	0 7 6	6	28	21	67	25	76	28	16
17	„ „ sheep . bales	1,384	10 0 0	13,840	3,592	35,920	3,568	35,680	4,320	43,200	17
18	Tallow . . pipes	18,801	11 0 0	206,811	18,625	204,864	12,090	132,990	19,790	217,690	18
19	„ „ „ boxes	10,562	3 0 0	31,686	52,481	157,443	25,280	75,840	7,549	22,647	19
20	„ „ „ serons	1,678	2 10 0	4,195	2,343	5,857	80	200	185	462	20
21	Wool . . . bales	13,405	10 0 0	134,050	23,329	233,290	17,744	177,440	19,060	190,060	21
22	„ „ „ serons	231	10 0 0	2,310	3,379	33,790	3,356	33,560	2,914	29,140	22
Total Valuation of Ex- ports in each Year .		..	..	1,091,604	..	2,537,821	..	1,983,513	..	2,126,705	
				6 months of 1848	..	1849	..	1850	..	1851	

TABLE III.—Principal Articles of Exports from Buenos Ayres in 1850 and 1851, showing to what Countries and the amount of Shipping of each.

No.	ARTICLES.	1 GREAT BRITAIN.		2 FRANCE.		3 GERMANY.		4 ITALY.		5 SPAIN.		6 HAVANNAH.		7 UNITED STATES.		8 BRAZIL.		No.
		1850	1851	1850	1851	1850	1851	1850	1851	1850	1851	1850	1851	1850	1851	1850	1851	
1	Jerked Beef . quintals	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	254,011	270,915	..	..	136,720	160,959	1
2	Bones . . No.	2,897,230	2,632,467	142,300	905,900	63,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,000	..	..	..	2
3	„ . . tons	583	1,087	206	144	..	..	..	43	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
4	Feathers . . bales	..	3	20	62	5	34	..	..	..	12	..	..	15	47	2	..	4
5	Hair . . „	1,633	1,525	555	1,176	366	485	337	304	42	53	..	..	2,126	1,062	..	..	5
6	Hides . . ox and cow	383,831	596,526	322,940	279,704	602,550	615,184	197,771	183,304	164,680	214,327	3,522	4,069	741,113	696,580	7,746	1,446	6
7	„ . . horse	103,520	61,767	10,445	19,741	1,165	2,158	35,018	2,710	12,904	19,841	..	..	21,050	34,400	..	60	7
8	Horns . . per 1000	413,537	677,720	90,200	261,552	55,549	229,188	163,187	34,942	27,165	..	2,500	3,670	1,165,012	1,158,648	..	..	8
9	Sheep-skins . bales	332	444	1,162	2,432	10	13	44	54	..	4	..	..	2,020	1,371	..	2	9
10	Tallow . . pipes	11,055	19,265	395	360	395	105	37	2	..	..	..	20	199	9	..	28	10
11	„ . . boxes	17,264	4,071	2,745	755	975	..	1,987	249	402	229	1,757	2,079	..	..	..	166	11
12	Wool . . bales	1,647	1,269	2,098	871	1,738	773	501	768	1	..	..	..	15,215	18,293	..	..	12
SHIPPING.																		
	No. of Vessels . .	91	111	46	41	57	54	29	25	15	19	67	66	87	80	48	64	
	Tonnage . . .	19,576	24,405	9,686	8,759	12,546	11,682	6,268	5,297	2,930	3,626	13,691	13,344	22,983	22,485	9,002	10,437	

TABLE IV.—Return of the principal Articles of Country Produce imported into the Port of Buenos Ayres in Coasting Vessels, from the Riverine Province and from the Banda Oriental, from July 1, 1850, to June 30, 1851.

	FROM WHENCE IMPORTED.				TOTAL.
	Santa Fé.	Entre Rios.	Corrientes.	Banda Oriental.	
<i>Shipping.</i>					
No. of coasting vessels with cargoes	601	545	312	706	2,164
Tonnage	16,129	21,603	13,031	21,752	72,515
<i>Articles.</i>					
Bones No.	..	141,480	..	13,000	154,480
Flour (wheat) arrobas	..	75	..	2,200	2,275
Charcoal fanegas	67,826	1,367	150	..	69,343
Fire-wood cart-loads	622	4,350	338	11,127	16,437
{ Ox and cow hides, dry No.	69,948	262,682	109,078	201,536	643,244
{ " " " salted "	5,939	59,216	15,276	36,264	116,695
{ Horse and Mare, ditto	2,030	44,759	18,567	32,325	97,681
{ " " " dry "	724	1,488	2,749	429	5,390
Horns	55,761	509,910	132,086	192,317	890,074
Horse-hair arrobas	1,027	6,589	1,801	4,896	14,313
" " " " serons	251	721	1,870	355	3,197
Honey casks	..	..	..	9	9
Bees-wax arrobas	..	..	110	..	110
" " " " hhds.	..	..	17	..	17
Lime fanegas	281	51,352	..	4,265	55,898
Oil of olives pipes	6	186	32	89	313
Beef, jerked quintals	2,650	3,497	9,013	23,667	39,027
Ox tongues dozens	131	50	..	182	363
Bacon arrobas	..	270	232	63	565
Cheeses No.	3,320	70	44,908	612	48,910
Calf-skins	963	512	2,053	6,334	9,862
Carpincho skins	..	74	2,663	..	2,737
Deer skins	65	65	293	..	423
Guanaco skins	800	..	..	..	800
Nutria skins	65	..	6,815	..	6,880
Sheep skins	64,225	47,955	389	487	113,056
Bizcacha skins	588	8	..	..	596
Soap arrobas	514	33	5	..	552
Tallow	158	2,940	73	6,053	9,224
" " " " hhds.	245	18	179	277	719
" " " " pipes	103	47	41	288	479
" " " " serons	18	53	1	208	280
Tobacco	47	..	404	4	455
" " cigars hhds.	..	1	156	..	157
" " " " No.	..	..	27,000	..	27,000
Wool arrobas	3,024	14,386	2,269	1,260	20,939
" " " " serons	2,075	605	572	19	3,271

N.B.—The arroba is 25 lbs., and the fanega of Buenos Ayres about 4 Eng. imp. bushels.

Besides the above-mentioned articles an immense quantity of fruit of all kinds was in the same period brought down—nearly 3,000,000 oranges and lemons, upwards of 300,000 water melons, 1,200 boxes of dried fruits, almonds, raisins, figs, tamarinds &c., for the market of Buenos Ayres. The coasting trade which these importations give rise to is daily assuming more importance; in the course of the past year, as will be seen, there were upwards of 2,000 entries of the small craft employed in it exceeding 72,000 tons in burthen, and giving active employment to a large number of industrious foreigners, chiefly French and Italians, who under the flag of Buenos Ayres are allowed almost to monopolise it.

These Tables exhibit some very interesting results: they show that in little more than twelve years the exports of produce from these Provinces have doubled in value, whilst in quantity they have increased in a very much greater ratio.

From 1822 to 1837 they had gradually risen in value from about 700,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.* per annum.

Taking the average of the two last years, 1850 and 1851, it appears that they may now be estimated at twice that amount, or 2,000,000*l.* sterling a-year; and if it had not been for the great fall in the price of the principal articles of produce, this valuation would have been very much larger: but in the article of hides alone the cost price is not two-thirds of what it was a few years ago.

An examination of the *quantities* of the leading articles of produce exported gives the following results.

The average number of hides exported in the years 1850 and 1851 was about	2,400,000
In 1837 it had only reached	800,000
Increase	<u>1,600,000</u>

The value of the quantity of tallow now ex- ported is about	£200,000
In 1837 it was only	30,000
Increase in value	<u>£170,000</u>

The wool now exported is estimated to be not less than	16,000,000 lbs.
In 1837 it was about	4,000,000
Increase	<u>12,000,000 lbs.</u>

To account for the quantity of hides now brought forward we must assume the stock of cattle in the country to be from ten to twelve millions.

In 1837 it was estimated upon the best authorities to be from three to four millions.

An increase so far beyond what might have been expected in the ordinary course of things naturally suggests inquiries as to the causes which may have led to it.

First of which, no doubt, is the extension of the frontiers of the Province of Buenos Ayres to the south, since General Rosas' campaign against the Indians in 1833: vast tracts of country abounding in rich pastures are now covered with herds of cattle, which before that were exposed to the forays of the savages, and consequently unsafe for the occupation of either man or beast. The Province of Buenos Ayres, including the new territories taken possession of to the south of the River Salado, now produces about two-thirds of the whole number of hides sold in that market; the remainder are chiefly brought down to Buenos Ayres from the Riverine Provinces, as will be seen on reference to Table IV.: very few, comparatively, are introduced from the Upper Provinces.

Strange to say, another of the principal causes of the great increase which has taken place in the capital stock of this country is one from which a totally different result might have been anticipated—the maritime blockades of the port by foreign powers, which, in this part of the world, instead of impoverishing the nation, have in reality tended indirectly to a vast increase of its principal means of production—those mighty herds of cattle which constitute the chief source of the wealth and commercial importance of these countries.

In the last twenty-four years Buenos Ayres has been subjected to no less than three blockades, each lasting nearly three years, altogether more than eight years, or about one-third of the whole period.*

Now the consequence being that during the blockades in question all shipments of hides were of course for the time put a stop to, the cattle were left to multiply in the Pampas; and as the fact is now established that if none are killed off they double their numbers in three years, the ratio of increase in the capital stock for reproduction under such circumstances may be easily imagined.

* The Brazilian blockade commenced in January, 1826, lasted . . . 1,004 days.
 The French blockade commenced in March, 1838, lasted . . . 949 ,,
 The joint English and French commenced in Sept. 1845,
 lasted 659 } together 1,000 ,,
 The French alone 341 }

In all 2,953 days.

It will also be obvious (as the result has shown in every case) how entirely inefficacious as a war measure must be any attempt to reduce the people of Buenos Ayres to distress and submission by a mere blockade of the port, without a simultaneous investment of the place by a land force sufficient to deprive the inhabitants of their daily supplies.

The increase in the quantity of tallow may be partly ascribed to the same cause. The demand for hides and jerk-beef, previous to the last blockades, was such as to induce the cattle-owners to kill their animals as soon as the skins became saleable, which is some time before the animals are old enough to yield any quantity of tallow, but a three years' longer lease of their lives led to a very different result. By an economical process, also introduced of late years, carcasses which were formerly left to be devoured by the wild dogs and vultures are now boiled down, or rather *steamed*, from which a considerable residue of tallow (*sebo y grasa*) is obtained, which, put into old wine-casks, is shipped for Europe in large quantities. Its value is now known, and it is probable that with the demand for it in Europe, it will continue to be one of the most important articles in the list of exports from the Rio de la Plata.

The extraordinary increase which has taken place in the article of wool produced in these countries of late years deserves particular notice. When I first arrived in Buenos Ayres in 1823 the wool of the Buenos Ayrean sheep was not worth the expense of cleaning it, and as to the meat, with plenty of beef, it is not to be wondered that no native of the country would touch it. It is well known that their carcasses, dried in the sun, were used for little else than fuel for brick-kilns. Under such circumstances the breeding of sheep was totally neglected till some enterprising countrymen of our own, after the close of the war with Brazil in 1828, instigated by the almost total abolition of the previously existing import duty upon the article in England, and struck with the possibility of increasing the available returns of the country by adding wool to its staple commodities, introduced the improved breeds of Merino and Saxon sheep, which are now permanently fixed in these provinces.

To the late Mr. Peter Sheridan and Mr. Harratt Buenos Ayres is indebted for this new source of wealth, which bids fair to rival in importance the most valuable of her old staple productions. Although the greater part of the wool produced for some years did not exceed in quality perhaps that of the low Scotch wools used for carpeting and other strong descriptions of goods, of late they have been greatly improved, and some parcels are nearly as good as almost any wools in our markets.

This is only one of the many beneficial results which have accrued to Buenos Ayres from a liberal protection to foreigners, which has led so many thousands of them to settle in the city and province, greatly to the augmentation of its resources and commercial prosperity by their intelligence and industrious habits.

Whenever any real union shall take place between Buencs Ayres and the Provinces of the interior, which shall once more reestablish the moral influence and superiority of the capital over their still benighted populations, we may expect, as one of the most important results, an extension of a like policy with regard to foreigners, and such efficient guarantees for the safety of their persons and property as may induce them to settle in the interior, where they will assuredly repay the natives a hundred fold by teaching them how to turn to account the vast resources which Nature has placed within their reach.

Then we may expect the cotton and tobacco of the northern Provinces to vie with those of North America and Brazil in the markets of Europe, and a greatly increasing importation of the many other valuable productions of these countries which I have more particularly described in my account of the Provinces of the interior.

To turn now to the

IMPORTS.

To show the amount of increase which has taken place in the imports as well as exports, I shall again for comparison revert to the results of the year 1825 as an epoch of peace and commercial prosperity in the Rio de la Plata, generally referred to. At that time the imports into Buenos Ayres from foreign countries were estimated as follows (after deducting charges):—

1.	From Great Britain	.	.	.	£ 800,000
2.	„ France	.	.	.	110,000
3.	„ Northern Europe	.	.	.	85,000
4.	„ Gibraltar, Spain, and Mediterranean	.	.	.	115,000
5.	„ United States	.	.	.	180,000
6.	„ Brazil	.	.	.	190,000
7.	„ Havannah and other countries	.	.	.	85,000
					£ 1,575,000

say about one million and a half sterling, net valuation.

These results were taken from returns furnished at the time by the custom-house of Buenos Ayres. I have endeavoured but in vain to obtain from the same quarter a corresponding return for any later period; but although with more trouble, perhaps still more correct data may be obtained from the statistical accounts of trade and commerce which are now annually published by the principal exporting countries; and most of which are collected in the office of our Board of Trade, where every facility is given to refer to them. From these sources, as far as I can ascertain, the following may, I believe, be a fair approximate calculation, according to their own showing, of the present average value of the exports of each country to the Rio de la Plata:—

1.	From Great Britain	.	.	.	£ 900,000
2.	„ France	.	.	.	500,000
3.	„ Northern Europe	.	.	.	170,000
4.	„ Gibraltar, Spain, and Mediterranean	.	.	.	120,000
5.	„ United States	.	.	.	200,000
6.	„ Brazil and other countries	.	.	.	220,000
					£ 2,110,000

being an increase of about 25 per cent. in nominal *value* since 1825, although if we take *quantities*, from the diminished cost of manufactured goods in Europe in the same period, we may fairly assume that they have been doubled.

In examining these returns, the preponderance of the British trade in the Rio de la Plata is very manifest.

The low prices of British goods, especially those suited to the consumption of the masses of the population of these countries, ensured a demand for them from the first opening of the trade. They are now become articles of the first necessity to the lower orders in South America. The gaucho is everywhere clothed in them. Take his whole equipment, examine everything about him—and what is there not of hide that is not British? If his wife has a gown, ten to one it is from Manchester. The camp-kettle in which he cooks his food—the common earthenware he eats from—his knife, spurs, bit, and the poncho which covers him—all are imported from England.

The cheaper we can produce these articles the more they will take, and thus it is that every improvement in our machinery at home which lowers the price of these manufactures, tends to contribute (we hardly perhaps know how much) to the comforts of the poorer classes in these remote countries, and to perpetuate our hold over their markets; for in the sale of these goods no other foreign country can compete with Great Britain in the low cost of their production; and as to any native manufactures, it would be idle to think of them in a country as yet so thinly peopled, where every hand is wanted, and may be turned to a tenfold better account, in augmenting its natural resources and means of production, as yet so imperfectly developed.

Besides our cotton goods, we also send to Buenos Ayres considerable quantities of woollen, linen, and silk manufacture, ironmongery and cutlery, hardwares of all kinds, coarse and fine earthenware, glass, coals, &c., &c., &c.

The value of our exports to the Rio de la Plata, taking the average of years of peace, from 1822 to 1825 was annually between 700,000*l.* and 800,000*l.*; in the next twenty years it fell to about an average of 600,000*l.* a

year. Since the middle of 1848, when the last French blockade of Buenos Ayres ceased, to the end of 1850, the declared value of exports from Great Britain is—

For the last six months of 1848	. .	£ 605,953
In all 1849	. .	1,399,575
,, 1850	. .	909,280

of which perhaps the last year would give the fairest notion of what may be the present annual requirements of these countries.

It may seem strange that with so large an increase in the general trade of these countries, the value of that from Great Britain has to all appearance varied so little in the last twenty-five years. But it must be borne in mind, that when first the trade of the Rio de la Plata was opened, Great Britain had almost a monopoly of it, which she maintained not only till the general peace of 1815, but for some time afterwards.

The continuance of peace throughout Europe led, as might have been expected, to a different state of things; and as other countries began once more to embark in commerce, they found their advantage in sending their own goods to the markets of South America, which in proportion interfered with the importations by British shipping.

Nevertheless, up to about 1837, the value of the British trade with the Rio de la Plata exceeded in amount that of all other foreign countries put together; it is very little short of that now: but if we examine the quantities, we shall find an enormous increase in the goods we now send thither, from the greatly diminished cost of our manufacturing processes; which, in the article of cottons alone, constitutes more than one-half of all our exports to the Rio de la Plata, and enables us now to sell nearly four yards of these goods for the same price which one cost before 1825.

The annexed return exhibits the quantities of the principal articles of British manufactures and products annually exported up to 1825, and in 1849 and 1850. Their total value will be seen on reference to the table at the end of this chapter.

QUANTITIES of the principal Articles of British Manufacture imported into the Rio de la Plata in 1849 and 1850, compared with those imported formerly.

	Average from 1822 to 1825, inclusive.	1849.	1850.	Average of 1849-1850.
<i>Cotton goods</i> (in about equal proportions, plain and printed). } yards	10,811,762	46,678,912	23,309,096	34,994,004
<i>Woollens</i> pieces	40,705	84,598	54,744	69,671
,, (including Carpets) yards	139,037	615,970	383,763	499,866
<i>Linens</i> ,,	996,467	1,592,627	719,582	1,156,104
<i>Silks</i> (quantities not given) value	£16,612	£46,297	£13,992	£30,144
Hardware & Cutlery (1832) cwts.	5,397	25,823	21,227	23,525
Earthenware . . ,, pieces	354,684	1,740,819	780,595	1,260,707

Next in importance to the British trade with these countries is that of *France*, which has wonderfully increased of late years, being more than four times the value of what it was in 1825. At that period the French imports into the Rio de la Plata were estimated at about 110,000*l.* sterling, they are now worth upwards of 500,000*l.* In 1849 they were valued at upwards of 17,000,000 *frs.*, or nearly 700,000*l.*, but that was a year of extraordinary excess, attributable to the raising of the blockade in the middle of 1848, from which a third at least may be deducted, as in the case of the British and other exports in the same year, in order to arrive at any fair average of the ordinary demand.

In that year the principal articles of export from France to the Rio de la Plata are given as follows in the French official accounts:—

	QUANTITIES.	VALUES (ACTUELLES).
Silk goods . . .	36,964 kilog.	4,221,873 francs.
Woollen do. . .	117,266 "	3,300,752 "
Cotton do. . .	105,741 "	1,299,718 "
Linen do. . .	15,073 "	779,633 "
Wines . . .	30,178 hectol.	1,181,879 "
Haberdashery .	76,756 kilog.	788,473 "
Perfumery . .	85,144 "	596,008 "

The remainder consisting of various fancy articles and made up goods chiefly of Parisian manufacture.

In 1850, the total exports from France to Buenos Ayres were still valued at about 13,500,000 frs.; but that amount was still considered to be beyond the ordinary demand of the market, and to have left a loss to the importers.

The silks of Lyons, and the light cloths and cashmeres of Louviers, Sedan, and Elbœuf, cambrics, and all kinds of *articles de mode* from Paris, find a ready sale amongst the better classes at Buenos Ayres; they are shipped from Havre, which is the port of France with which the trade with Buenos Ayres is chiefly carried on.

A new and very important item in the exports from France is the quantity of wine sent to Buenos Ayres. Before 1840 four or five cargoes from Bordeaux, Provence, or Languedoc, was the utmost required; in 1849, nearly 40 were easily sold: the consumption is now estimated at 1000 barrels a month, for the use of the lower orders.

This great increase in the demand for the wines of France is attributable to the vast influx of French, chiefly from the Basque provinces, who of late years have emigrated in very considerable numbers to the Rio de la Plata. They have formed a numerous settlement of their own in the suburbs of Buenos Ayres, where they are actively employed to their own great advantage in a variety of industrial occupations connected with the shipping trade, and preparation of hides for foreign markets. They have carried with them their national habits and wants, and have introduced a large and daily increasing demand for many of the productions of their own country.

The only goods which vie with those of France in the Buenos Ayrean market, are the plain silks of Zurich, the ribands of Bâle, and the muslins of St. Gall, for all which there is a constant and increasing demand.

The annual imports from the north of Europe, estimated at about 170,000*l.*, are in the ratio of about

£ 85,000	from	Hamburgh and Bremen.
30,000	„	Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.
30,000	„	Belgium.
25,000	„	Holland.

From Germany and the Netherlands, the articles in

greatest demand are linen and woollen cloths, Rhenish cotton goods, ironmongery, hardware, cutlery, glass, muskets and sabres, Flanders lace and veils, cotton stockings, furniture, &c., in all which articles they rival the English goods in price and taste.

Holland sends Dutch cheese, butter, gin in pipes and case bottles ; and hams from Westphalia, of which there is a very large consumption.

The importations from the Baltic consist of iron, cordage, canvas, pitch, tar, and deals.

The Mediterranean imports consist principally of Spanish and Sicilian produce.

Spain supplies large quantities of the low red wines of Catalonia, which are the chief beverage of the lower classes of the natives ; oil in jars and casks, olives and dried fruits, the black serges of Malaga, fancy handkerchiefs and ribands of Granada, and salt from Cadiz, which is esteemed above all other for the use of the hide salters (*saladeros*) ; a larger quantity of it, however, is introduced from the Cape de Verd Islands.

Sicily sends wines, and Genoa macaroni and vermicelli, and all kinds of condiments, sausages, &c.

These importations are principally made by Sardinian vessels.

Had Spain recognized in time the independence of the new states, she instead of foreigners would undoubtedly have reaped the greatest advantages from this trade ; the habits of the people, the customs they had been brought up in, not to speak of international ties and connexions—all would have most forcibly tended to an active commercial intercourse between her *ci-devant* colonies and Spain, which would have been of vast importance to the latter ; but she delayed till it was too late, and until those habits and customs and ties had passed away, and a new race had grown up, destitute of those kindred feelings which naturally animated the previous generation, if not hostile to her from her long and obstinate struggles to put them down by force, and to reduce them once more to her old colonial rule.

The United States send to Buenos Ayres large quan-

tities of the coarse unbleached cloths of their own manufacture, known as “domestics,”—furniture and lumber of all kinds, soap and sperm candles, dried and salted provisions, tobacco and deals, and a variety of other articles ; but their amount is in no proportion to the quantity of the raw produce which they take from the Rio de la Plata, and which of late years has been as great, if not greater than any other country.

According to the official accounts published in the United States, the account of exports and imports with the River Plate was as follows:—

Value of Exports and Imports to and from the Rio de la Plata.

Exports.			Imports.		
1849	. .	£ 767,594	1849	. .	£ 1,709,827
1850	. .	1,064,642	1850	. .	2,653,877
1,832,236			4,363,704		
Average . .		£ 916,118	Average . .		£ 2,181,852

In former times one of the principal articles of import into Buenos Ayres from the United States was *flour*, of which the average importation for many years amounted to 50,000 barrels. It is not to be wondered at that the larger profits of cattle breeding should for a time have superseded the pursuits of agriculture ; but the inconvenience and evils of an habitual dependence upon any foreign country, particularly upon one at such a distance as North America, for the daily bread of a whole population, became at last so manifest, that the legislature interposed to put an end to it, and to pass enactments for fostering and protecting the agricultural interests of the native proprietors. The consequence has been, that the province of Buenos Ayres, the southern districts of which are as capable of producing good wheat as any country in the world, now grows not only a sufficiency for the consumption of its own population, but sometimes a surplus, which is generally exported to Brazil. In 1850 a cargo of 3800 quarters was shipped for England, but arriving when prices were very low, the result was a loss to the

shipper, which will probably prevent a repetition of the speculation.

Brazil supplies Buenos Ayres with large quantities of sugar, coffee, rice, tobacco, and cacao; in return for the jerked beef which she takes from the Rio de la Plata, and which is a principal article of food for her slave population.

To both parties the trade is at present of great importance, if not of necessity; it gives employment to Brazilian shipping, and tends to promote a friendly intercourse between people of neighbouring nations: any interruption to it, however, might lead Buenos Ayres to look to her own Upper Provinces for supplies of the same articles, which may be produced there in any quantity as well as in Brazil.

With regard to the importance of this trade to Great Britain, I think I cannot better exemplify it than by giving the annexed return of the value of the British produce and manufactures sent to the Rio de la Plata in the last twenty years, to which for comparison I have added that of our exports during the same period to all the other new states of Spanish America and to Spain.

The total of our exports to the new states in that time has been nearly 59,000,000*l.* sterling, of which those taken by the populations of the Rio de la Plata amount to upwards of 14,000,000*l.*, or nearly a fourth of the whole—half as much again as Spain has taken from us in the same time.

The Rio de la Plata may be fairly esteemed the most valuable of all the markets which have been opened to us by the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, considering not only the amount of our goods which the people of those countries consume, but the large quantities of raw produce with which they repay us, thereby furnishing our manufacturers with fresh means of reproduction and profit.

To our shipping interests also it has been particularly advantageous, inasmuch as the natives having as yet no vessels of their own, we have had the carrying trade both ways under our own flag.

The number of foreign vessels employed in this trade has increased much in the same proportion as the imports and exports. Comparing the periods already referred to, viz. 1825, and the last two or three years, it appears that up to 1825 about 250 vessels, of from 50,000 to 60,000 tons, of all nations, entered the port of Buenos Ayres. In 1849, 1850, and 1851, the number was as follows:—

	Vessels.	Tons.
1849 . . .	526	112,255
1850 . . .	440	96,673
1851 . . .	460	100,035

DECLARED VALUE of British Produce and Manufactures exported from Great Britain to the River Plate, Mexico, Columbia, Chile, Peru, and Spain, in the 20 years ending 1850.

Year.	To River Plate.	To Mexico.	To Columbia.	To Chile.	To Peru.	To Spain.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1831	339,870	728,858	248,250	651,617	409,003	597,848
1832	660,152	199,821	283,568	708,193	275,610	442,926
1833	515,362	421,487	121,826	816,817	287,524	442,837
1834	831,564	459,610	199,996	896,221	299,235	325,907
1835	658,525	402,820	132,242	606,176	441,324	405,065
1836	697,334	254,822	185,172	861,903	606,332	437,076
1837	696,104	520,200	170,451	625,545	476,374	286,636
1838	680,345	439,776	174,338	413,647	412,195	243,839
1839	710,524	660,170	267,112	1,103,073	635,058	262,231
1840	614,047	465,330	359,743	1,334,873	799,991	404,252
1841	989,362	434,901	158,972	438,089	536,046	413,849
1842	969,791	374,969	231,711	950,466	684,213	322,614
1843	700,416	597,937	378,521	938,959	659,961	376,013
1844	784,564	494,095	264,688	807,633	658,380	509,207
1845	592,279	547,130	390,149	1,077,615	878,708	676,636
1846	187,481	303,685	471,652	959,322	820,535	769,793
1847	490,504	100,688	327,885	866,325	600,814	770,729
1848	605,953	945,937	310,076	967,303	853,129	616,878
1849	1,399,575	779,059	519,799	1,089,914	878,251	623,136
1850	909,280	450,820	665,193	1,156,266	845,639	864,997
	14,033,032	9,582,115	5,861,344	17,269,957	12,058,322	9,792,469

Total to the New States £58,804,770

Total to Spain 9,792,469

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PUBLIC DEBTS OF BUENOS AYRES.

Origin of the Funded Debt — Revenue and Expenses in 1825 — English Loan spent in War with Brazil for the Banda Oriental — The Provincial Bank — Its credit destroyed by the interference of the Government — Obligated to increase its Issues — The paper money declared a legal tender — Its subsequent depreciation — The Funded Debt increased, but redeemed by the Sinking Fund — Present liabilities of the Government of Buenos Ayres — The Funded Debt — Paper money in circulation — English Loan, and dividends in arrear — Revenue at the close of 1850 — Available surplus — Commencement of war in the Riverine Provinces, aided by the Brazilians, against General Rosas — Its probable effect in delaying any settlement with the bondholders.

IN any attempt to convey an idea of the finance accounts of Buenos Ayres, it should in the first instance be observed that, although those accounts are, *primâ facie*, *national*, they exhibit in reality the receipts and expenditure of the government of the *province* of Buenos Ayres alone:—the other provinces, containing two-thirds of the population of the whole republic, contribute nothing towards the general expenses, though most of them manage to support their petty provincial administrations. Buenos Ayres alone found all the pecuniary means both for the war with Spain for the establishment of the independence of the republic, and subsequently for liberating the Banda Oriental from the domination of the Emperor of Brazil, which latter state, though gaining everything by the result, has never repaid her a single dollar. Chile owes her as much for the armies sent across the Andes, which freed that country also from the yoke of the King of Spain.

It is only astonishing how this little State contrived, as she did, to raise the ways and means for these efforts, and

that she did not altogether succumb to the difficulties and embarrassments they gave rise to.

When the struggle with Spain was over, and her military establishments reduced, the arrangement of her pecuniary affairs became one of the first objects of her provincial administration.

In 1821 commissioners were appointed to call in and liquidate all outstanding claims against the government, of whatever description, not excepting even those left unsettled by the authorities of the mother-country previous to the deposition of the Viceroy in 1810. The greater part of these debts were due for actual services, or for loans to the government in times of necessity, during the war for their emancipation. These were paid off by the creation of funds bearing interest at six per cent. The others, incurred under the Spanish rule, were provided for by a four per cent. stock created at the same time. This was the first instance of the establishment of anything like a public funded debt in any of the new states of South America. Commissioners were appointed to manage it, and to pay the dividends quarterly to the stockholders, transfer-books were opened, and a sinking-fund was established for its gradual redemption. The first quarter's interest became due on the 1st of January, 1822, and, for the credit of Buenos Ayres, it should be stated that, notwithstanding the great subsequent increase of the debt, under the circumstances to which I shall presently refer, the quarterly dividends have, from that time to this, been as regularly paid as those at the Bank of England.

The amount of stock created up to the close of 1825 was—

Of 6 per cents. . . .	\$ 5,360,000
4 per cents. . . .	2,000,000

which was sufficient to provide for every outstanding claim against the government up to that period, whilst the charge for the annual interest was hardly felt in the general expenditure, which, after the reductions consequent upon a state of peace, the revenue was more than sufficient to meet,—as will be seen by the following return

of the yearly receipts and payments from 1822 to 1825, inclusive.

RECEIPTS and EXPENDITURE for the Years 1822 to 1825 inclusive.

	1822	1823	1824	1825
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Total Receipts .	2,519,095	2,869,266	2,648,845	3,196,430
<i>Expenditure.</i>				
Public Debt and } Dividends . }	643,791 3	452,038 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	547,107	
Home Department	446,140 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	513,993 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	679,585 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Finance Department	264,187 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	323,663 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	290,696 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
War Department .	843,935 6	1,249,258 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,111,976 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Total Expenditure	2,198,054 6	2,538,954 $\frac{1}{4}$	2,629,365 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,698,231 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

The total of the receipts in the four years was, Spanish dollars, 11,233,635, which, at the exchange of 45*d.* per dollar, was equal, in sterling money, to about 2,106,306*l.*, or, on an average, 526,576*l.* per annum.

Three-fourths of this revenue was derived from the custom-house duties, which amounted in—

1822	to Span. dolls.	1,987,199
1823	"	1,629,149
1824	"	2,032,945
1825	"	2,267,709

In the four years . \$7,917,002, or about £1,488,604.

The remainder was made up by duties on stamps, the contribucion directa, a sort of property-tax; the post-office revenue, the port dues, rents of government buildings and lands, and other items of little consequence.

Never had the financial concerns of the republic borne so creditable and promising an appearance. In this prosperity nothing was thought of but schemes for improvement of every kind; and projects were submitted to the government for a variety of public works, piers, docks, custom-houses, &c., some of which were of manifest utility.

It was under these circumstances, and with a view to

carry into effect some of the projected improvements, that the government of Buenos Ayres were induced to raise a loan in England, which there was no difficulty in obtaining upon the terms they stipulated for, viz., seventy per cent. At that price parties in London contracted with them for a loan, nominally, of a million sterling, to be raised upon bonds bearing interest at six per cent. per annum, payable half-yearly. A sinking-fund of 5000% per annum was to be applied to their redemption, and the contractors were further allowed to keep back the amount of the dividends for the first two years. This, with charges, &c., reduced the sum to be paid over to the government of Buenos Ayres to about 600,000%. The first half-yearly dividend became due on the third or fourth quarter of 1824.

Whilst the government were deliberating, amongst the many projects before them, how to lay out this money to the best advantage, war broke out with the Emperor of Brazil for the possession of the Banda Oriental, which soon settled all difficulty on that point, and absorbed every dollar of the loan in preparations for the ruinous war which followed. From the commencement of that struggle, not only were the expenses of the state enormously increased, but when resources were most wanted, nearly the whole of its ordinary revenues (depending upon the duties on foreign trade) were suddenly cut off by the blockade of the river Plate instituted by the Brazilians, which lasted during the whole continuance of the war, viz., from December 1825, to September 1828,—nearly three years.

In their emergencies the government determined to avail themselves of the Provincial Bank, an establishment which had been set up by the leading capitalists of Buenos Ayres in 1822, upon the grant of an exclusive privilege of issuing notes *in that province* for twenty years. It was at that time entirely independent of the government, and was managed by directors annually chosen by the shareholders. To the mercantile body it was of great utility, and its notes, payable in specie on demand, in default of any national coinage, had become the ordinary currency

of Buenos Ayres, and were as readily taken as gold or silver:—its capital was a million of dollars. But, as this could not be done compatibly with its independence and existing constitution, it was further, in an evil hour, resolved to alter entirely its original character.

Under pretence of extending the circulation of its notes throughout the republic, application was made to the General Congress then sitting* to sanction its conversion into a *national* bank, with a nominal capital of *ten millions* of dollars, towards which the government subscribed for shares to the amount of *three millions*, and very soon assumed the right to exact from it almost any accommodation they required. The consequences were soon apparent. The wants of the government increasing, the bank was obliged, in order to provide for them, to increase its issues, which very soon reached an amount obviously out of all proportion to its real capital.† The aid of the legislature was again called in:—the notes were declared a legal tender for their nominal value, and the bank was relieved by law from the obligation of paying them in specie on demand:—its credit fell to the lowest ebb, and its notes became proportionably depreciated.

The government, however, had then no alternative but to go on with the system it had commenced: the precious metals having wholly disappeared as a medium of circulation, it was in this depreciated currency that it found itself obliged to continue borrowing such sums as it required, until, as may easily be imagined, the nominal amount of the public debt became fearfully increased. At the close of the war with Brazil in 1828, the value of the paper dollar of the bank had fallen from 45*d.* to below 12*d.*

* The Congress in question had been convoked principally for the purpose of drawing up a constitution for the republic, and was properly only a *constituent* one:—after a time, however, it proceeded to appoint a president, and to pass a variety of laws founded on the like scheme of *nationalising* the republic, which, though acquiesced in, *per force*, by the people of Buenos Ayres, were resisted by most of the provinces at a distance, and led to much ill-will and disunion amongst them.

at the moment when all their joint efforts were required against their common enemy. The president, Rivadavia, after a vain struggle to establish his authority, found himself forced to resign amidst a complication of difficulties.

† It never exceeded five millions of dollars, viz., one the amount of the capital of the Provincial Bank, incorporated with it; three subscribed by the Government; and about one more by individuals.

sterling; and 6,000,000 dollars had been added to the amount of the funded debt; the deficit on the general account of receipts and expenditure was 13,412,075 dollars, the whole of which was due to the bank; and this was independently of the English loan.

Nevertheless, when peace was signed, upon terms highly honourable to the republic, the public confidence immediately rallied. The value of the current dollar rose at once to 24*d.*, and amidst the general rejoicings even the pecuniary prospects of the country put on a flattering appearance. Nor were the hopes entertained by the Buenos Ayreans of a speedy improvement in their finances without foundation. It was soon manifest that although the war with Brazil had led to enormous expenses, the sudden suspension of trade in consequence of the blockade of the port had locked up a large amount of foreign as well as native capital within the country, the investment of which, in a variety of ways, had greatly increased its means of production and sources of wealth.

The mutiny of the army, however, shortly afterwards, upon their return from the Banda Oriental, under General Lavalle, and his barbarous murder of General Dorrego, the Governor, blasted all these flattering prospects, and involved the whole republic in confusion and ruin. The consequences of the civil warfare which followed to the finances of the country were deplorable, and infinitely worse than those occasioned by the war with Brazil. The currency suffered, as it always must do when its amount is regulated solely by the wants of the government, and the paper dollar, after great fluctuations, fell to about 7*d.*, at which rate it remained stationary for several years, till new complications led to fresh demands for the military defences of the country, and to fresh issues of paper money to meet them, which reduced its value to 4*d.*, and latterly even to 3*d.*, apparently beyond all hope of recovery.

To meet the exigencies of the State, the funded debt was also largely increased from time to time as the Government wanted money. The last issue of funds was in 1840.

Fortunately the principle of a sinking fund for the re-

demption of the funded portion of the debt was rigorously maintained; and although, from the creations to which I have alluded, its *nominal* amount was raised to nearly 54,000,000 dollars (the last amount officially stated is 53,693,334 dollars), the operation of the sinking fund of 1 per cent. has been sufficient in twenty-five years to redeem nearly the whole of it: there is indeed now no longer any of this stock in the market for sale, although the commissioners have funds in hand to buy up any that may be offered to them at par. The amount unredeemed is understood to consist chiefly of investments made when the stock was originally created in 1825, and when the dollar was worth 45*d.* instead of 3*d.*, as at present; and is supposed to belong chiefly to foreigners, who were induced at that time to invest their money in the Buenos Ayrean funds in the expectation of receiving a sterling interest of 6 per cent. for it, little dreaming of such a new way of paying off old debts. A portion of it also consists of the properties of certain religious and corporate establishments in Buenos Ayres, invested under the authority of the legislature in the public funds when they were first created.

These parties seem fairly entitled to some special consideration, and the Government of Buenos Ayres will probably find itself obliged to make some equitable adjustment with them before their account is finally closed.

The present several liabilities of the Government of Buenos Ayres may be classed as follows:—

1st. The remaining portion of the funded debt above alluded to which is in progress of liquidation by the sinking fund.

2nd. The amount of the paper issues which form the circulating medium, and for which the Government is responsible.

3rd. The English loan; and

4th. The arrears of dividends due thereon to the bondholders.

In order to explain the nature and extent of these several liabilities, I shall quote the last accounts of them which I have been able to obtain from Buenos Ayres and in this country.

1.

With regard to the funded debt, the following is an account of it up to the beginning of 1850, published by authority of the Government :—

Total amount of Stock created . . .	£ 53,693,334
Of which the Sinking Fund had redeemed to the end of 1849 . . .	39,178,724
Leaving . . .	<u>14,514,610</u>

Of this amount

£ 966,994 belonged to religious and corporate bodies ;
14,370 is unclaimed Stock ; and
13,533,246 in the hands of private parties—

towards the redemption of which the commissioners had then in hand 5,323,252 dollars, which, with the ordinary sinking fund and accumulating interest, it was expected would liquidate the whole of this outstanding debt by the end of the present year (1852).

2.

The amount of the paper currency issued up to the 30th of September, 1851, and then remaining in circulation, was 107,858,540 dollars : calculating this at 3*d.* per paper dollar, which was then about the rate of exchange, the value of these issues in English sterling would be about 1,349,240*l.*

3.

The English loan.

This loan for 1,000,000*l.* sterling was issued to the public in July, 1824, at the price of 85 per cent., payable in successive instalments.

The six first dividends were paid, say to July, 1827, inclusive :—

The Loan was at 6 per cent. for . . .	£1,000,000
Redeemed by Sinking Fund . . .	23,000
Leaving amount of Bonds now in circulation	<u>977,000</u>
With an Annual Interest due thereon of	<u>£ 58,620</u>

4.

Arrears of dividends.

The Dividends unpaid from 1st July, 1827, to January, 1851, amount to	£1,436,190
Less three quarterly payments made by Messrs. Baring in 1846, 1850, and 1851	43,965
Leaves due	<u>£1,392,225</u>

The last payments being the result of the exertions of Mr. Falconnet, who in 1842 was sent by Messrs. Baring to Buenos Ayres, to urge the claims of the bondholders, and who succeeded in obtaining from General Rosas an engagement to remit the sum of 5000 Spanish dollars by every monthly packet to England, as a preliminary step towards a final settlement of this debt. Those payments were suspended during the English blockade; but upon its being taken off, were again resumed, and from January 1, 1849, have been regularly continued.

Although the Government of Buenos Ayres have on various occasions expressed their intention of settling with their English creditors, nothing has been done as yet beyond the monthly remittances on account, abovementioned.

Nevertheless, from the statement of their finances, which has been published for 1849 and 1850, it appears that in both those years they had a revenue far exceeding their own calculation: being derived chiefly, as I have before said, from the custom-house duties, it has increased *pari passu* with the trade, and appears now to be, as that is, nearly double what it was twenty-five years ago.

The Receipts in 1850, including a balance from 1849, were	} £ 62,266,510 = £ 1,037,770 sterl.
The Expenditure was	
	56,046,352 922,736
Leaving a Surplus for 1851 of	<u>£ 6,220,159</u> at 4d. = <u>£115,000</u>

but say 100,000*l.*, the exchange being at that time somewhat under 4*d.*

Of the revenue for 1851 we have no account, the annual Message of the Governor of Buenos Ayres, in

which it has been usual to give full details of the financial state of the country, having been for the first time suspended, in consequence of the breaking out of civil war in the province of Entre Rios, which has obliged the Executive Government to devote its entire attention to measures of defence. It is probable that those measures will also once more absorb all the available resources of the country, and be made an excuse for still further delaying any final settlement with their English creditors.

The decided part which Brazil has taken in openly aiding the rising of the Governors of Entre Rios and Corrientes against the authority of General Rosas, seems to have been very little expected, the rather because it is an express stipulation in the Treaty of Peace, concluded between Brazil and Buenos Ayres in 1828 under the mediation of Great Britain, that in the event of any intention to renew hostilities on the part of either of the contending parties, six months' previous notice of it should be given to the mediating power—a provision expressly designed to give her time to interpose her good offices to avert the consequences of war, which had proved so disastrous to both the contending parties, and so injurious to the commercial interests of neutral nations, on the last occasion.

One of the worst consequences of war in these new states is, that every recurrence of it, foreign or civil, tends more and more to establish military violence and despotism, in place of those civil institutions which the people are anxious for, but which they can never realize without peace and tranquillity.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX.

I.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE MINISTER OF BRAZIL AND THE CABILDO OF BUENOS AYRES.

1808.

(Translation.)

No. 1.

Confidential Note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of H. R. H. the Prince Regent of Brazil, addressed to the Cabildo of Buenos Ayres, upon His Royal Highness's arrival at Rio de Janeiro in 1808.

Most Illustrious Cabildo of Buenos Ayres,

The undersigned, Don Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, Minister and Secretary of State for War and Foreign Affairs, is ordered by his august master H. R. H. the Prince Regent of Brazil to communicate to your Excellencies the fact, now beyond a doubt, of the entire subjection of the Spanish monarchy to France, and to her worst and most perfidious enemy, whereby the Spanish Americans are totally abandoned and exposed to fresh disasters, after all their late sacrifices in their successful defence of Buenos Ayres against the English ; and feeling satisfied that your Excellencies will duly appreciate the advantages of a course whereby your trade may be saved from utter ruin, by availing yourselves of the means of conciliation which his Royal Highness is desirous to propose to you, instead of joining his allies against you, which would not fail to be attended with such fatal consequences to your interests,

Wherefore, his Royal Highness has commanded the undersigned, in making known to your Excellencies his arrival in this his capital of Rio de Janeiro, which he trusts will give you satisfaction, at the same time to offer to take the Cabildo, and the people of Buenos Ayres, and the whole of the Viceroyalty under his royal protection, preserving to them all their rights and privi-

leges, and engaging his royal word not only not to impose upon them any fresh burthens, but moreover to secure to them entire freedom of trade and an oblivion on the part of his allies of the past, so as to ensure them from the consequences of any further hostilities against them which may arise out of late events.

At the same time his Royal Highness has ordered the undersigned frankly to declare to your Excellencies that should these friendly propositions (only made to you to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood) not be listened to, then and in such case his Royal Highness will feel himself under the necessity of making common cause against you with his powerful ally, and all the vast resources which Providence has placed at his disposal, the result of which could not be doubtful, however grievous it might be to his Royal Highness to witness it, and to think that nations united by the bonds of the same religion, by similar habits and customs, and by a language almost identical, should become involved in hostilities to the sacrifice of their dearest interests.

Your Excellencies who constitute the Cabildo of Buenos Ayres, the fathers of your country, must take these propositions into your most earnest consideration, and in the event of your desiring to submit yourselves to the protection and vassalage of his Royal Highness will be pleased officially to propose on your part the conditions and mode which the Cabildo judges convenient for your reunion under the dominion of so great a prince, the result of which cannot but ensure the happiness of the people, who will then with still more reason have to call your Excellencies the fathers of your country.

Awaiting your Excellencies' reply to submit it to H. R. H. the Prince Regent our master, and trusting to have the satisfaction of contributing to the union and glory of two nations formed to be brothers, not enemies, under the same most pious, benevolent, and powerful of sovereigns, the undersigned has the honour to be, &c.,

DON RODRIGO DE SOUZA COUTINHO,

No. 2.

Reply of the Cabildo of Buenos Ayres to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of H. R. H. the Prince Regent of Brazil.

Most Excellent Señor,

On all occasions and under all circumstances "*the very noble and very loyal*" city of Buenos Ayres has known how to maintain and do honour to that glorious title conferred upon her by the gratitude and consideration of her august sovereigns.

The recent proofs of her loyalty and fidelity to her sovereign in resisting the attacks of the powerful ally of his Royal Highness are notorious.

Her honour, her fame, her privileges, her happiness, are all founded on the maintenance of the rule of her King and natural master, the best and most amiable of monarchs.

The smallest insinuation against the reality of these her fixed principles is an imputation upon her loyalty and an intolerable offence to her.

Wherefore the Cabildo have had very much to endure in reading the contents of the confidential note from your Excellency of the 13th of March last, whereby they are invited by flattering and seductive propositions to separate from a dominion which they prefer before all others in the world.

Your Excellency will be pleased to believe, and to give H.R.H. the Prince Regent to understand, that the Cabildo of Buenos Ayres will never forget such an affront; and above all, your Excellency may be assured, as well as H. R. H. the Prince Regent, that if these seductive overtures are incapable of shaking the fidelity of the people of South America, neither are threats and menaces likely to move them, accustomed as they are to brave all dangers and to make every sacrifice in defence of the sacred rights of the most just, most pious, and most benign of monarchs; and if in other times and on other occasions, and so recently, they have given to all the world such undoubted proofs of what may be effected by valour excited by loyalty and enthusiasm in the cause, so they are ready again to shed the last drop of their blood ere they will suffer the smallest fraction of these vast territories to be torn from the crown of Spain. Of this the Cabildo of Buenos Ayres, headed by their distinguished General (Don Santiago Liniers), will be foremost in setting the example, in order to prove at all costs its loyalty and determination to continue faithful to the King their lord and master.

God preserve your Excellency many years.

Buenos Ayres, 29th April, 1808.

II.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSED TO THE EX-KING OF SPAIN, CHARLES IV., BY THE DEPUTIES OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA, PRAYING HIM EITHER TO REPAIR IN PERSON TO BUENOS AYRES, OR TO PERMIT HIS SON, DON FRANCISCO DE PAULA, TO PROCEED THITHER TO TAKE UPON HIMSELF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SAID PROVINCES AS AN INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNTY.

1815.

(Abridged from the original.)

This document commences with a narrative of the events which led to the overthrow of the Viceroy's authority in 1810, and the establishment of the first provisional junta at Buenos Ayres, the first object of the memorialists being to demonstrate that the movement in question did not originate with the Americans, but with an interested party of European Spaniards in Buenos Ayres intimately connected with the monopolists and trading politicians of Cadiz, who had been long looking forward to it as a means of getting the Government of the country into their own hands for their own selfish purposes, circulating exaggerated reports from the Peninsula, and preparing the public mind for the downfall of the monarchy.

The intrigues of this party and the disastrous accounts of the state of public affairs in Spain, of the disputes of the Council with the central Junta, of those of the latter with the Juntas of Seville, Valencia, Corunna, and the Asturias, and their various decrees and proclamations, had produced the greatest perplexity and excitement amongst the people of Buenos Ayres with regard to their own future fate, when the Viceroy, Cisneros himself, brought about a crisis by issuing a proclamation announcing the almost entire conquest of Spain by the French, and his own resolution to resign his authority into the hands of the representatives of the people.

With his own concurrence a meeting was convoked of the leading personages in Buenos Ayres on the 22nd May, 1810, at which it was resolved that the continuance of his authority was no longer compatible under the existing circumstances with the interests of the country, and empowering in consequence the

Cabildo of Buenos Ayres to form a junta in accordance with the popular feeling, in which should be vested the supreme authority until a general congress should be assembled of deputies from all the cities and towns of the viceroyalty.

In these proceedings, as the document sets forth, your Majesty's memorialists took part with the majority of those who voted for them; but they declare that the objects which the leaders of the American party had in view at the time have been little understood and grossly misrepresented. They were confined to securing the largest possible amount of advantages and ameliorations for their country under the circumstances. Any views short of those—which are notoriously the end and aim of all nations—would have deprived them of the confidence and respect of their compatriots.

Whatever may be said to the contrary, your memorialists assert that all those who have had the management of the public affairs of Buenos Ayres have never had any other views than the following with regard to a future settlement:—

1st. That no other than a monarchical form of Government is suited to the habits of the people.

2nd. That no foreign Prince can so well ensure their welfare and prosperity as one of your Majesty's family.

3rd. That if that, which has been always deemed of all others the most advantageous arrangement, cannot be realized, the integrity of the monarchy may still be maintained simultaneously with an independent administration of the internal affairs of these provinces, more or less extensive, as may be arranged by negotiation in any final treaty of settlement.

With respect to the accusations and reproaches raised by the enemies of America against her leaders, it must be admitted that on many occasions great mistakes have been committed and serious disorders have taken place in the provinces of the Rio de la Plata. Every day, indeed, renders it more and more necessary to put a stop to them by some satisfactory and efficacious adjustment.

But it is due to the Government of the provinces of Buenos Ayres to declare that they have never lost any opportunity to propose, and even to solicit, peace upon reasonable terms. With this object they have repeatedly addressed themselves to the Government and Ministers of England, to the Prince Regent of Portugal, and to his august consort Doña Carlota, the daughter of your Majesty—and to the Governors of Monte Video and Lima—but mediation has been uniformly rejected with contempt by the Spanish party both in Europe and America. The Government of the Peninsula has deemed it degrading even to listen to the voice of the Americans.

The victories gained by the forces of Buenos Ayres are quite

sufficient to show that these pacific overtures were not prompted by weakness, still less by fear.

The Government of Buenos Ayres, after obtaining possession of the Spanish squadron and of the fortress of Monte Video, had already detached a large force to augment the ranks of their army in Peru, when they received from their envoy in London, Don Manuel Sarratea, the news of your Majesty's eldest son having entered Spain and taken possession of the kingdom; at the same time M. Sarratea forwarded the copy of a representation which he had thought proper immediately to address to him, through his first minister, on the part of these provinces.

They lost no time in making known this important intelligence to the representatives of the people, proposing with their concurrence to the royalist generals in Lima and Chile an immediate suspension of hostilities, pending the result of a deputation which they determined forthwith to send to the court at Madrid.

Of this pacific overture the Spanish commander in Peru availed himself only to gain time to reinforce his army, and then to fall upon the advanced guard of our forces suddenly and without notice, and to sack and destroy a defenceless city. The commander of the Spanish forces in Chile was more open in his conduct: he answered our overtures at once by a torrent of insults and invectives.

Our deputation had already embarked for Spain with directions to touch on the way at Rio de Janeiro, when intelligence arrived that not only had the reigning Prince, Ferdinand, refused even to listen to the representation already addressed to him by Don M. Sarratea, our envoy, but, regardless of our intention, of which he was informed, to send a formal deputation to Spain, had ordered an expedition of 10,000 men to be immediately prepared to subjugate by force the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, in direct opposition to the tenor of his own Address of the 27th of May, 1814, to the Americans.

This news, together with the manifestoes published against us, could leave no doubt as to the hostile policy which the Prince had resolved to adopt with regard to the people of these countries; further, our deputies, upon their arrival at Rio de Janeiro, announced to us the little hope they entertained of any success resulting from their mission from the tone of the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires at that court. Already it appeared an agent from Spain had arrived there charged to induce the Government of Brazil to violate the treaties they had made with us, and to co-operate with the expedition about to be despatched from Cadiz to attack us, whilst the appointment of a host of individuals to important offices in the provinces—all Europeans and persons detested by the people for the active part they had taken against

the American cause—contributed to satisfy us that the Prince who occupied the throne of Spain had no desire whatever for a pacification.

These events, Sire, threw these Provinces into the state in which they now are.

The army of Peru, dissatisfied by the moderation we had evinced with regard to the enemy, and with a suspension of hostilities which deprived them of victories in prospect, determined not to be parties to any adjustment with Spain whatever. Their chiefs redoubled their exertions to increase their forces, and the capital of Buenos Ayres was agitated by the greatest enthusiasm. The Supreme Director, deeming himself from his age and pacific character unfit to command under such circumstances, resigned, and was succeeded by a spirited young officer full of energy and talent, who, following the popular feeling, prepared for the most vigorous defence.

The result is, that Buenos Ayres now possesses an army of 11,000 veteran troops, 8000 volunteers of infantry, 14,000 of cavalry, and more than 200 pieces of artillery, completely equipped and ready for service. In Monte Video and its country districts there is a force of from 10,000 to 12,000 men; the troops of the line of Peru number 8000 men, exclusive of the volunteer cavalry and native infantry; the forces in active service in the provinces of Peru, Arequipa, Cuzco, La Paz, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca are considerable, besides which there are 3000 more in the province of Cuyo.

The whole of these forces and the populations of these vast countries have sworn not only to defend themselves against Prince Ferdinand, but also that they will never acknowledge his Government or treat with him on any terms; and your memorialists, as their deputies, must in their name declare to your Majesty, with all that truth which the importance of the subject demands, that their aforesaid determination, with regard both to Spain and the Prince who now rules over her, is as irrevocable as it is justifiable.

It is under these circumstances, Sire, that the people of these provinces appeal to your Majesty, and that we as their representatives in the face of all nations declare—

“That the people of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata had no part in the movement at Aranjuez which led to your Majesty’s renunciation of your Majesty’s rights, much less have they ever shared in any degree in the alleged feeling of the Spanish people against your Majesty’s royal person; on the contrary, they gratefully acknowledge the progress they made under your Majesty’s reign and the improvements introduced into their laws and administration.

“That the nullity of your Majesty’s abdication in 1808 being

notorious, as well as your Majesty's protest against it, and that by no subsequent act has any validity been given to it, as appears by the circular of Don Ferdinand of the 4th of May, 1814, wherein he founds his own rights to the occupation of the throne upon the aforesaid renunciation alone, designating it as a voluntary and solemn act, in opposition to the conviction of the whole world, your memorialists protest and swear that they do not and will not recognize any other as their legitimate Sovereign and as King of the Spanish Monarchy than your Majesty Don Carlos IV., whom God protect."

This, Sire, is the resolution of the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, which their deputies declare and guarantee in their name in the most solemn manner.

But considering the pressing wants of the country, the feelings of the people with good cause alienated from their European brethren by their severity and hostile spirit, the advanced age and state of health of your Majesty and of your royal lady our Queen, and the enormous distance of more than 2000 leagues of sea voyage between us, we are induced with all due humility to submit to your Majesty the only possible means whereby such difficulties can be overcome and the first steps taken towards the restoration of peace, honour, and prosperity to your Majesty's subjects.

Nothing assuredly could give more satisfaction to the people of these Provinces than to be able to rejoice in the presence of their beloved Sovereign and of those who surround him, and who have adhered to him with a loyal devotion which they cannot but admire; but if insuperable obstacles interfere to prevent this, which is the first object of their wishes, as well as that best suited to their interests, is it a reason why they are to be given up to a war of extermination, or driven to throw themselves into the arms of some foreign Prince? Such an alternative can never be supposed to be your Majesty's wish, neither could it take place without entailing upon these countries the most fatal results. It is to avert such consequences that your memorialists are instructed to appeal to your Majesty to grant them the remedy they earnestly pray for at your Majesty's hands.

That remedy, Sire, is no other than that your Majesty be pleased to cede in favour of your worthy son, Don Francisco de Paula, the dominion and sovereignty over these Provinces, constituting him their independent King upon the basis which your memorialists on the part of their constituents are respectfully prepared to propose.

That this is the most effectual means of restoring peace and quiet to the people in question is proved not only by their spontaneously and unanimously calling for it, but by the circumstance

of the Prince in question being in no manner compromised in the events which unfortunately have caused so much excitement in the Peninsula. That it will also be the means of raising a vast and rich continent to the prosperity which pertains to it, there is every ground to hope from the talents of a young Prince capable of estimating the progress of the present age and to profit by it. Lastly, that this is the most feasible, legitimate, and just means which your Majesty can adopt in a case of such exigency can be fully demonstrated.

Any other plan which does not separate the people of these countries from the influence of the Peninsula will be found either impracticable or at least be of very short duration.

Neither will the people of Spain on their part abate their rancorous pretensions, nor is it possible for the Americans to trust them after they have violated every agreement they have ever made with them; they can no longer be deceived or give up those rights which they have gained with so many sacrifices and are determined to maintain. With regard to the Prince in question, no one can be more worthy the favour of your Majesty; he is the only one in whom the Provinces could place confidence; he is the only one who can meet our requirements, as he is the only one of your Majesty's family who is free from other engagements.

The full powers vested in your Majesty to take this step ensure its legality. The people of Spain have no contract with, no rights over those of America. The Monarch is the only party with whom the settlers in America formed contracts; on him alone they are dependent, and he alone it is who connects them with Spain. The celebrated law of the Indies (cap. 1, tit. 1, lib. 3), which, contrary to its letter and the uniform evidence of history, the enemies of America would interpret into a bond of union between the people of these countries and Spain, indissoluble even by the Sovereign himself, furnishes in reality the best proof of the right of the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata to insist upon their independence as well as of your Majesty's legitimate powers to grant it.

The law in question is the contract which the Emperor Charles V. originally signed at Barcelona on the 14th September, 1519, in favour of the Conquistadores and settlers in the Americas, in return for all the expenses they had been put to, and for their services in adding those possessions to the Crown.

It is indisputable that this law is only binding on the Monarch personally, and has no reference to Spain; but the fact of the alienation of many territories and cities in America, although in opposition to the declared wishes of the people, is alone sufficient to prove that the Spanish Monarchs and Spain herself never considered the law referred to as of any validity when opposed to

their real interests; and it is of this principle that the Americans now demand the benefit.

The favour, Sire, which we pray for at the hands of your Majesty is not only the greatest benefit your Majesty can confer upon the Provinces aforesaid, but may be productive of immense advantage to Spain also. The people of the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata are ready solemnly to engage that in all future relations they may contract they will ever give a preference to their European brethren. This is the most they can desire, and all they can possibly have any interest in obtaining from those countries.

Your memorialists conclude by referring to the documents annexed as fully proving the truth of all they have here set forth; and casting themselves at your Majesty's feet, in their own name and on behalf of their constituents implore your Majesty as their Sovereign to grant the object of this their earnest request, and that your Majesty will graciously be pleased to extend your paternal and powerful protection to three millions of your most loyal vassals, and thereby ensure the happiness of generations to come.

May God prosper and protect your Majesty.

(Signed)

MANUEL BELGRANO. BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA.

London, 16th May, 1815.

NOTE.—This document has been necessarily very much curtailed in transcribing it, the greater part of it being no longer of any public interest. The portions given are sufficient to prove how earnest were the Americans in their endeavours to bring about some honourable arrangement with their old Sovereigns. That this attempt proved as fruitless as the many others which had preceded it can hardly be wondered at, considering the position of the ex-King to whom it was addressed.

It was in the year following (1816) that the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata finally proclaimed their independence by the Declaration of Tucuman, as set forth at page 76 of this volume.

III.

EXTRAIT DE DIVERSES PIÈCES RELATIVES AUX NÉGO-
CIATIONS DU GOUVERNEMENT FRANÇAIS AVEC LA RÉ-
PUBLIQUE DES PROVINCES-UNIES DE SUD-AMÉRIQUE.*

1819.

Lettre de M. Gomez, Plénipotentiaire des Provinces-Unies de Sud-Amérique, à Paris.

Paris, le 18 Juin, 1819.

DANS ma lettre du 15 du mois dernier j'informai votre Seigneurie que j'avais été invité à une conférence par S. Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères. Différentes circonstances la retardèrent jusqu'au 1^{er} du courant. Quoique j'eusse réfléchi profondément sur l'objet qu'elle pouvait avoir, je n'aurais jamais pu prévoir ce dont il s'agissait, et je me borne à le soumettre à votre Seigneurie.

Après m'avoir fait un long exposé des dispositions de son Gouvernement en faveur de la glorieuse entreprise commencée par les Provinces-Unies, et en même temps des difficultés qui empêchaient la Cour de France d'y prendre une part active et manifeste, le Ministre me dit qu'occupés de nos véritable intérêts, ses collègues et lui s'étaient convaincus que ces intérêts devaient dépendre entièrement de la forme que nous donnerions à notre Gouvernement ; que celle d'une Monarchie Constitutionnelle paraissait nous convenir plus que toute autre, parcequ'elle serait la plus propre à nous faire jouir promptement des bienfaits de la paix, si nous choisissons un Prince de l'Europe, qui pût, par ses relations, donner une attitude respectable à l'état qui l'aurait adopté, et faciliter la reconnaissance de son indépendance. S. Excellence ajouta que, pénétré de cette idée, le Ministère Français avait conçu un projet qui paraissait avantageux à tous égards, et qu'elle allait l'exposer avec la plus grande sincérité, en me proposant un Prince qui se trouvait dans la position la plus propre à applanir tous les obstacles que pourrait rencontrer un pareil projet à raison des différens intérêts des principales Puissances de l'Europe, et de la variété des vues politiques des divers cabinets. Que ce Prince était le Duc de Lucques, ancien héritier du royaume d'Etrurie, appartenant

* These papers are copied from a brochure printed at Paris in 1820, entitled 'Aperçu des dernières Révolutions de la République des Provinces-Unies de Sud-Amérique.' Paris, à la Librairie Constitutionnelle de Brissot-Thivars. 1820. They had been previously published in Spanish at Buenos Ayres.

par sa naissance à l'auguste famille des Bourbons ; qu'il croyait que son élection ne souffrirait aucune difficulté de la part des Cours principales ; qu'au contraire elle réunirait le suffrage de tous les Souverains, particulièrement des Empereurs d'Autriche et de Russie, qui étaient entièrement dévoués aux intérêts généraux du Continent. Que l'Angleterre ne trouverait aucun motif valable et décent pour s'opposer à ce projet. Que S. M. Catholique ne verrait pas avec peine son parent en possession d'un trône dans des provinces qui s'étaient soustraites à sa domination et desquelles elle pourrait espérer des concessions favorables au commerce de la Péninsule, du moins celles qui seraient compatibles avec l'indépendance absolue de la nouvelle nation, et la politique de son Gouvernement. Que de son côté S. M. Très-Chrétienne, dont les sentimens lui étaient connus, seconderait cette entreprise avec un zèle tout particulier ; qu'elle emploierait sa haute influence et sa puissante médiation auprès des Souverains, sans négliger en même temps tous les moyens qui étaient en son pouvoir pour la faire réussir, tant par des secours directs de toute espèce, que par son intervention auprès de S. M. Catholique pour l'engager à renoncer à la guerre qu'elle faisait à ces Provinces.

Son Excellence s'est jetée ensuite dans une foule d'autres considérations, qu'il serait trop long de détailler ; mais qui avaient pour objet le caractère de S. A. le Duc de Lucques, dont l'éducation avait été dirigée d'après des principes analogues à l'état actuel des lumières en Europe, et dont les idées libérales étaient entièrement opposées à l'esprit du Gouvernement de S. M. Catholique, ayant la plus grande aversion pour la politique adoptée par ce Prince envers les peuples soumis à sa domination.

Je dois avouer sincèrement que je n'entendis pas sans une extrême surprise la proposition d'un Prince qui n'offrait ni garantie, ni pouvoir, ni force pour présider aux destinées d'un peuple qui s'était rendu digne de l'attention de l'Europe, et qui avait acquis sa liberté au prix de si grands et de si extraordinaires sacrifices. Et, pendant que S. Excellence se livrait à de longs raisonnemens, je me préparais à la contredire sans blesser directement son amour-propre, pour mettre à couvert les grands intérêts dont je suis chargé, et pour exécuter ponctuellement l'article 7 de mes instructions.

Je dis donc à S. Excellence que malheureusement je ne me trouvais pas autorisé pour traiter l'affaire dont elle venait de m'entretenir ; qu'en outre j'étais persuadé qu'il n'entrerait pas dans les vues du Gouvernement des Provinces-Unies d'accepter aucune proposition qui n'aurait point pour bases essentielles la cessation de la guerre avec l'Espagne, l'intégrité du territoire de l'ancienne Vice-Royauté, et, s'il était possible, les secours nécessaires pour rendre plus respectable la situation actuelle de cet Etat ; qu'il n'y avait pas lieu d'espérer du Gouvernement l'élection du Duc de

Lucques, qui se trouvait dans une position fâcheuse, puisqu'il était célibataire et conséquemment sans héritiers ; et qu'il laisserait ces Provinces exposées aux dangers qui suivent presque toujours les interrègnes.

Je me flattais d'avoir détruit entièrement le projet par ces objections à l'aide de raisonnemens dont la force devait être d'un grand poids dans l'esprit du Ministre. Mais à peine avais-je achevé ma réponse que S. Excellence s'empressa de me dire que, loin d'avoir présenté la moindre difficulté par mes réflexions, qui d'ailleurs lui paraissaient judicieuses, elles lui fournissaient le moyen de me développer tous les avantages du projet. Elle m'assura que le premier soin de S. M. Très-Chrétienne serait de presser S. M. Catholique de terminer la guerre et de reconnaître l'indépendance de ces Provinces ; que le Duc de Lucques pourrait contracter une union avec une des Princesses du Brésil, sous la condition expresse de l'évacuation de la Bande-Orientale par les troupes de S. M. Fidèle, et de la renonciation à toute espèce d'indemnités, et qu'en même temps qu'il obtiendrait cet avantage il assurerait sa succession à la Couronne ; que S. M. Très-Chrétienne fournirait des secours de toute nature et dans la même proportion que s'il s'agissait d'un Prince du sang ; et S. Excellence m'assura de nouveau qu'aucun moyen ne serait négligé pour faire réussir l'entreprise et pour assurer la prospérité de ces contrées.

Après avoir entendu cet exposé, je crus devoir représenter encore une fois à S. Excellence que je ne me trouvais pas suffisamment autorisé pour délibérer sur cet objet, que j'en rendrais un compte très-exact à mon Gouvernement en lui demandant les instructions nécessaires. Le Ministre se rendit facilement à cette observation, et me répéta qu'aussitôt que j'aurais reçu des instructions convenables il dirigerait la négociation de manière à la faire arriver à la meilleure fin possible, en se flattant d'obtenir ce résultat à l'aide des Cabinets qui devaient y concourir. Votre Seigneurie trouvera ci-joint un mémoire qui se rapporte au même objet, et qui me fut envoyé après cette conférence, comme contenant les idées du Baron de Rayneval, lequel passe dans cette Cour, ainsi que je l'ai déjà dit à votre Seigneurie dans une autre occasion, pour le chef de la diplomatie Française.

J'ai rapporté à votre Seigneurie, dans le plus grand détail, les objets principaux de cet entretien. Il ne m'appartient pas d'ouvrir un avis sur les avantages ou les inconvéniens que peut présenter un pareil projet aux Provinces-Unies de Sud-Amérique. Les Autorités suprêmes chargées de leurs destinées et de leur prospérité le pèseront avec la sagesse et la maturité qui caractérisent leurs délibérations, et quand le résultat m'en sera connu il sera de mon devoir de m'y soumettre dans tous les points, et d'en assurer l'exécution par tous les moyens qui sont en mon pouvoir.

(Signé) GOMEZ.

Note remise à M. Gomez, Plénipotentiaire des Provinces-Unies de Sud-Amérique, à Paris, de la part du Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat des Affaires Etrangères de France.

MONSIEUR,—Le Gouvernement Français, qui prend le plus vif intérêt à la situation du Gouvernement de Buénos-Aires, est disposé à faire tous ses efforts et à employer tous ses moyens pour faciliter, dans les Provinces-Unies de Sud-Amérique, l'établissement d'une Monarchie Constitutionnelle, seule forme de Gouvernement qui puisse concilier tous les intérêts et leur donner à l'avenir toutes les garanties nécessaires, soit du côté des puissances qui sont dans leur voisinage, soit de la part des puissances Européennes.

Le Gouvernement Français, forcé, par les circonstances politiques où il se trouve, d'agir avec la plus grande circonspection, afin d'éviter les obstacles qui peuvent se présenter d'eux-mêmes, principalement du côté de la Grande-Bretagne, ne manifestera pas immédiatement le désir de former des relations avec le Gouvernement de Buénos-Aires, mais il ne négligera aucune occasion de lui donner des preuves de l'intérêt qu'il lui porte.

Conformément aux sentimens qu'il exprime ici, et pour arriver au but si vivement désiré par les Américains du Sud, celui de s'affranchir de la domination de la Couronne d'Espagne et d'établir leur régime constitutionnel d'une manière forte et durable qui leur permette de traiter avec les diverses puissances, le Gouvernement Français propose de faire les démarches nécessaires afin d'obtenir le consentement des Cours Européennes pour placer sur le trône des Provinces de Sud-Amérique le Duc de Lucques, auquel il s'engage à donner tous les secours nécessaires en troupes d'expédition, matelots et bâtimens de guerre, pour qu'il puisse se rendre respectable et lutter avec avantage contre les puissances qui voudraient s'opposer à son élévation.

Ce Prince, âgé de dix-huit ans, appartient à la Maison de Bourbon, et, quoiqu'uni à la branche Espagnole, ses principes ne peuvent inspirer aucune crainte aux Sud-Américains, dont il embrassera la cause avec enthousiasme. Ses vertus politiques et privées et l'éducation militaire qu'il a reçue doivent inspirer la plus grande sécurité. Pour consolider l'établissement de sa Dynastie, on solliciterait son mariage avec une princesse du Brésil, alliance qui aurait des avantages incalculables pour les deux Gouvernemens, dont l'union deviendrait encore plus étroite lorsqu'elle serait resserrée par les liens du sang. Un autre avantage non moins important qui en résulterait, c'est que la condition principale de ce mariage serait d'obliger le Brésil à renoncer à la possession de la Bande-Orientale, sans aucun genre d'indemnité, et la formation entre les deux parties contractantes d'une alliance offensive et défensive. Quant aux Etats-Unis,

comme c'est seulement l'Angleterre qu'ils ont à craindre, et qu'il est de leur intérêt de vivre en bonne intelligence avec les Provinces de Sud-Amérique, il est évident qu'il serait facile d'écarter les obstacles qu'ils pourraient opposer à l'établissement d'une Monarchie Constitutionnelle dans ces provinces. D'un autre côté, le Gouvernement Français s'engage à faire toutes les négociations diplomatiques nécessaires, et à accorder au Duc de Lucques tous les secours, assistance, et protection qu'il pourrait donner à un Prince Français.

En conséquence il vous prie, Monsieur, de soumettre ces diverses propositions à votre Gouvernement; propositions qu'il lui est impossible de faire dans une autre forme. Il n'ignore pas qu'un parti puissant désire la consolidation du régime républicain dans les Provinces-Unies. Il ne cherchera point à vous faire remarquer la différence qui existe entre les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord et les provinces de Sud-Amérique. Vous ne devez pas ignorer qu'un Etat ne peut être organisé en République qu'autant que l'étendue de son territoire est borné, que ses mœurs sont pures et sa civilisation générale. Ce qui constitue la force d'une République et ce qui assure sa durée c'est l'harmonie de toutes les classes, l'homogénéité de tous les intérêts, et le désir de chacun des individus de contribuer au bien général. En un mot, il est indispensable qu'elle possède des vertus qui sont rares à toutes les époques.

Mais puisque l'Amérique du Sud, c'est-à-dire, Buénos-Aires et le Chili, sont dépourvus de presque toutes les qualités nécessaires pour un régime républicain; puisque leur étendue est immense, leur civilisation dans l'enfance, et bien éloignée des limites qu'elle doit atteindre un jour; puisque les passions et l'esprit de parti en troublent perpétuellement la tranquillité; en un mot, puisque l'anarchie règne en plusieurs Provinces qui devaient être soumises à Buénos-Aires, et surtout dans celle de la Bande-Orientale; dans cet état de choses, je ne vois d'autre moyen, pour assurer le bonheur de votre patrie et mettre un terme aux contestations des divers partis, pour les unir tous et les faire concourir au bien commun, que l'établissement d'une Monarchie libérale et constitutionnelle, qui assurera le bonheur et tous les droits du peuple, et lui conciliera la bienveillance des diverses Cours Européennes. De cette manière votre Patrie aura un Gouvernement bien constitué et reconnu de tous les Gouvernemens réguliers. L'agriculture fleurira et deviendra promptement une source de richesses pour ses habitans. Les arts et les sciences y prospéreront également. Le superflu de la population Européenne accroîtra celle de ces immenses contrées, qui, aujourd'hui, n'offrent aux yeux du voyageur qu'un désert stérile, mais qui bientôt deviendraient fécondes si elles étaient cultivées par des mains industrieuses. Tous les trésors que les mines contiennent seraient explorés et versés dans

la circulation, et non-seulement ils procureraient des avantages incalculables à ceux qui les auraient découverts, mais ils contribueraient également au bonheur et à la prospérité des nations.

Je pense que ces diverses considérations seront plus que suffisantes pour déterminer votre Gouvernement à adopter le plan proposé ; car procurer à votre patrie une condition plus heureuse, c'est acquérir des titres éternels à sa reconnaissance.

Je n'ignore pas qu'il existe dans les Provinces-Unies un parti qui est favorable aux Anglais. Permettez-moi de vous faire à cet égard quelques observations.

Supposez que l'Angleterre place un Prince de la Maison de Brunswick sur le trône de l'Amérique du Sud, et que, par l'ascendant qu'elle a acquis en Europe par suite des longues guerres qui ont tourné à son profit, elle mette votre patrie à l'abri de nouvelles guerres et lui donne une force physique qui assure son pouvoir ; croyez-vous que le peuple en serait plus heureux ? En quoi doit consister le bonheur d'un peuple qui, comme celui des Provinces-Unies, a fait de si grands efforts pour obtenir l'indépendance, qui peut seule garantir cette prospérité à laquelle il a droit d'aspirer en compensation de tous ses sacrifices ?

1°. Dans le maintien des droits qui sont fondés sur la nature ;

2°. Dans le libre exercice de la religion qu'il professe ;

3°. Dans le respect de son Gouvernement pour ses habitudes et son caractère national.

Or, à ces différens égards que peut-on attendre de l'Angleterre et d'un Prince qui pousserait jusqu'à la bigoterie le respect des opinions de la nation où il est né ? Le peuple des Provinces-Unies n'aurait-il pas à craindre la destruction de la religion Catholique ou du moins des guerres civiles qui seraient les résultats des attaques qu'on dirigerait contre elle ? La résistance des Américains amènerait nécessairement des luttes déplorables.

Cette peinture, qui, malheureusement, n'est que trop vraie, doit vous convaincre, Monsieur, que l'avènement d'un Prince de cette nation, loin de consolider l'édifice que vos compatriotes ont si bien commencé, en compromettrait l'existence, et qu'un peuple qui est digne des plus brillantes destinées finirait peut-être par tomber dans l'esclavage. En résumé, si votre Gouvernement consulte le bonheur des Provinces-Unies, il n'ira pas les livrer aux mains de ceux qui n'auraient d'autre but que de les enchaîner et de détruire cette prospérité naissante qui est le fruit de si grands sacrifices. Au contraire, en recevant pour Souverain le Prince que la France propose, il n'aura rien à craindre pour sa religion ; il peut être assuré en outre de trouver en lui cet esprit libéral, également éloigné de la licence et de la bigoterie, en un mot, toutes les qualités nécessaires pour assurer à l'Amérique du Sud une prospérité complète, puisque ce Prince, en devenant Américain, n'aura et ne pourra avoir d'autre but que de faire fleurir les arts, les

sciences, l'agriculture, le commerce, et de cette manière gagner l'affection de ses sujets.

Dans l'état actuel des choses, je crois, Monsieur, qu'il est nécessaire que votre Gouvernement prenne une prompte détermination afin de ne pas laisser échapper une occasion aussi favorable d'assurer le bonheur des Provinces-Unies et de concourir à l'accroissement de son commerce.

*Déclaration du Congrès des Provinces-Unies sur les Propositions du
Gouvernement Français.*

LE Souverain Congrès, ayant examiné, dans ses séances du 27 et du 30 du mois dernier, du 3 et du 12 du courant, le contenu de la communication adressée, sous la date du 18 Juin dernier, par l'Envoyé Extraordinaire près les puissances Européennes, Don Joseph-Valentin Gomez, à laquelle Votre Excellence a joint une note confidentielle, en date du 26 du mois passé, a pris la résolution suivante :—

Que notre Envoyé à Paris informera le Ministre des Relations Extérieures de S.M. Très-Chrétienne, que le Congrès National des Provinces-Unies de Sud-Amérique a examiné avec la plus sérieuse et la plus longue attention la proposition de l'établissement d'une Monarchie Constitutionnelle dans ces provinces, pour y placer, sous les auspices de la France, le Duc de Lucques, en le mariant avec une Princesse du Brésil ; qu'il ne l'a point trouvée inconciliable avec l'objet principal de notre révolution, la liberté et l'indépendance politique, ni avec les grands intérêts de ces mêmes Provinces ; que, mettant hors de doute que le premier et le plus sacré de ses devoirs est de s'occuper efficacement de consolider la félicité publique, en faisant cesser l'effusion du sang et toutes les calamités de la guerre intérieure et étrangère, au moyen d'une paix honorable et durable avec l'Espagne et avec les grandes Puissances de l'Europe, laquelle paix aurait pour bases la reconnaissance d'une indépendance absolue, et des relations de commerce d'une utilité réciproque, il est nécessaire, pour asseoir sa détermination, qu'il sache si les avantages qu'offre ce projet sont bien réels, étant décidé à prendre pour chef de son Gouvernement le Prince qui réunira le plus de garanties pour assurer ces avantages et pour applanir les obstacles qui pourraient se présenter ; qu'en adoptant ces principes, l'autorité exécutive de cet état souverain pourra consentir à cette proposition sous les conditions dont la teneur suit :—

1°. Que S. M. Très-Chrétienne se chargera d'obtenir le consentement des cinq grandes puissances Européennes, spécialement celui de l'Angleterre et de l'Espagne.

2°. Qu'après avoir obtenu ce consentement, S. M. Très-Chrétienne se chargera également de faciliter l'union du Duc de Lucques avec une Princesse du Brésil ; cette union devant avoir

pour résultat la renonciation de la part de S. M. Fidèle à toutes ses prétentions sur le territoire que possédait l'Espagne, conformément à la dernière démarcation, et aux indemnités qu'elle pourrait réclamer par la suite, en raison des frais occasionnés par son entreprise actuelle contre les habitans de la Bande-Orientale.

3°. Que la France s'obligera à prêter au Duc de Lucques toute l'assistance nécessaire pour établir une Monarchie dans ces Provinces et pour l'y faire respecter; cette Monarchie devant comprendre au moins tout le territoire de l'ancienne démarcation de la Vice-Royauté du Rio de la Plata, et renfermer par conséquent dans ses limites la province de Monte-Video, avec toute la Bande-Orientale, situé entre le fleuve, les courans, et le Paraguay.

4°. Que ces Provinces reconnaîtront pour Souverain le Duc de Lucques en conservant la Constitution qu'elles avaient jurée, à l'exception de quelques articles qu'on ne pourrait pas adapter à la forme d'un gouvernement monarchique héréditaire, lesquels seraient modifiés conformément aux principes constitutionnels qui lui ont donné naissance.

5°. Qu'aussitôt que les grandes puissances de l'Europe auront consenti à l'élévation du Duc de Lucques, ce projet devra se réaliser encore que l'Espagne ne veuille point renoncer à l'espérance de reconquérir ces provinces.

6°. Que, dans ce dernier cas, la France fera en sorte de hâter le départ du Duc de Lucques, avec toutes les forces nécessaires pour une pareille entreprise, et qu'elle le mettra en état de repousser tous les efforts de l'Espagne, en lui procurant des troupes, des armes, des munitions de guerre, et en lui prêtant trois millions de pesos (environ seize millions de francs), remboursables aussitôt que la guerre sera terminée et la tranquillité du pays rétablie.

7°. Que, de quelque manière qu'on effectue cette entreprise, il faudra toujours la considérer sous ce point de vue que l'Angleterre, voyant avec inquiétude l'élévation du Prince de Lucques, cherchera à s'y opposer et à la faire échouer par la force.

8°. Que le traité qui sera conclu entre le Ministre des Relations Extérieures de France et notre Envoyé devra être ratifié dans le terme qui sera déterminé par S. M. Très-Chrétienne et par le Directeur Suprême de cet Etat, avec le consentement préalable du sénat, selon les formes constitutionnelles.

9°. Qu'à cette fin notre Envoyé demandera tout le temps nécessaire pour qu'une affaire d'une si haute importance puisse être terminée ici, en se conduisant avec toute la circonspection, la réserve, et les précautions que lui commandent une position aussi délicate, tant pour assurer le succès du projet que pour empêcher les conséquences funestes qui résulteraient s'il venait à être connu trop tôt, des interprétations malignes que sauraient lui donner les ennemis de la félicité de notre patrie.

A Buénos-Aires, le 13 Novembre 1819.

IV.

TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED PROVINCES OF RIO DE LA PLATA.

Signed at Buenos Ayres, February 2, 1825.

EXTENSIVE commercial intercourse having been established for a series of years between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty and the territories of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, it seems good for the security as well as encouragement of such commercial intercourse, and for the maintenance of good understanding between his said Britannic Majesty and the said United Provinces, that the relations now subsisting between them should be regularly acknowledged and confirmed by the signature of a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation.

For this purpose they have named their respective plenipotentiaries, that is to say :—

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Woodbine Parish, Esquire, his said Majesty's Consul-General in the province of Buenos Ayres and its dependencies ; and the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, Señor Don Manuel José Garcia, Minister Secretary for the Departments of Government, Finance, and Foreign Affairs, of the National Executive power of the said Provinces ;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles :—

ARTICLE I.

There shall be perpetual amity between the dominions and subjects of his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata and their inhabitants.

ARTICLE II.

There shall be, between all the territories of his Britannic Majesty in Europe, and the territories of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, a reciprocal freedom of commerce : the inhabitants of the two countries, respectively, shall have liberty freely and securely to come, with their ships and cargoes, to all such places, ports, and rivers, in the territories aforesaid, to which other foreigners are or may be permitted to come, to enter into the same, and to remain and reside in any part of the said territories respectively ; also to hire and occupy houses and warehouses for

the purposes of their commerce; and, generally, the merchants and traders of each nation, respectively, shall enjoy the most complete protection and security for their commerce; subject always to the laws and statutes of the two countries respectively.

ARTICLE III.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland engages further, that in all his dominions situated out of Europe the inhabitants of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata shall have the like liberty of commerce and navigation stipulated for in the preceding article, to the full extent in which the same is permitted at present, or shall be permitted hereafter, to any other nation.

ARTICLE IV.

No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the territories of his Britannic Majesty of any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, and no higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the said United Provinces of any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic Majesty's dominions, than are or shall be payable on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign country; nor shall any other or higher duties or charges be imposed in the territories or dominions of either of the contracting parties on the exportation of any articles to the territories or dominions of the other, than such as are or may be payable on the exportation of the like articles to any other foreign country; nor shall any prohibition be imposed upon the exportation or importation of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic Majesty's dominions, or of the said United Provinces, which shall not equally extend to all other nations.

ARTICLE V.

No higher or other duties or charges on account of tonnage, light, or harbour dues, pilotage, salvage in case of damage or shipwreck, or any other local charges, shall be imposed, in any of the ports of the said United Provinces, on British vessels of the burthen of above one hundred and twenty tons, than those payable, in the same ports, by vessels of the said United Provinces of the same burthen; nor in the ports of any of his Britannic Majesty's territories, on vessels of the United Provinces of above one hundred and twenty tons, than shall be payable, in the same ports, on British vessels of the same burthen.

ARTICLE VI.

The same duties shall be paid on the importation into the said United Provinces of any article the growth, produce, or manufac-

ture of his Britannic Majesty's dominions, whether such importation shall be in vessels of the said United Provinces, or in British vessels ; and the same duties shall be paid on the importation into the dominions of his Britannic Majesty of any article the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said United Provinces, whether such importation shall be in British vessels, or in vessels of the said United Provinces. The same duties shall be paid, and the same drawbacks and bounties allowed, on the exportation of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic Majesty's dominions to the said United Provinces, whether such exportation shall be in vessels of the said United Provinces, or in British vessels ; and the same duties shall be paid, and the same bounties and drawbacks allowed, on the exportation of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said United Provinces to his Britannic Majesty's dominions, whether such exportation shall be in British vessels, or in vessels of the said United Provinces.

ARTICLE VII.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding with respect to the regulations which may respectively constitute a British vessel, or a vessel of the said United Provinces, it is hereby agreed, that all vessels built in the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, and owned, navigated, and registered according to the laws of Great Britain, shall be considered as British vessels ; and that all vessels built in the territories of the said United Provinces, properly registered, and owned by the citizens thereof, or any of them, and whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners, at least, are citizens of the said United Provinces, shall be considered as vessels of the said United Provinces.

ARTICLE VIII.

All merchants, commanders of ships, and others, the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, shall have the same liberty, in all the territories of the said United Provinces, as the natives thereof, to manage their own affairs themselves, or to commit them to the management of whomsoever they please, as broker, factor, agent, or interpreter ; nor shall they be obliged to employ any other persons for those purposes, nor to pay them any salary or remuneration, unless they shall choose to employ them ; and absolute freedom shall be allowed, in all cases, to the buyer and seller to bargain and fix the price of any goods, wares, or merchandise imported into, or exported from, the said United Provinces, as they shall see good.

ARTICLE IX.

In whatever relates to the lading and unlading of ships, the safety of merchandise, goods, and effects, the disposal of property of every sort and denomination, by sale, donation, or exchange, or

in any other manner whatsoever, as also the administration of justice, the subjects and citizens of the two contracting parties shall enjoy, in their respective dominions, the same privileges, liberties, and rights, as the most favoured nation, and shall not be charged, in any of these respects, with any higher duties or imposts than those which are paid, or may be paid, by the native subjects or citizens of the power in whose dominions they may be resident. They shall be exempted from all compulsory military service whatsoever, whether by sea or land, and from all forced loans, or military exactions or requisitions; neither shall they be compelled to pay any ordinary taxes, under any pretext whatsoever, greater than those that are paid by native subjects or citizens.

ARTICLE X.

It shall be free for each of the two contracting parties to appoint consuls for the protection of trade, to reside in the dominions and territories of the other party; but before any consul shall act as such, he shall, in the usual form, be approved and admitted by the government to which he is sent, and either of the contracting parties may except from the residence of consuls such particular places as either of them may judge fit to be so excepted.

ARTICLE XI.

For the better security of commerce between the subjects of his Britannic Majesty and the inhabitants of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, it is agreed, that if at any time any interruption of friendly commercial intercourse, or any rupture, should unfortunately take place between the two contracting parties, the subjects or citizens of either of the two contracting parties residing in the dominions of the other shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade therein, without any manner of interruption, so long as they behave peaceably, and commit no offence against the laws; and their effects and property, whether intrusted to individuals or to the state, shall not be liable to seizure or sequestration, or to any other demands than those which may be made upon the like effects or property belonging to the native inhabitants of the state in which such subjects or citizens may reside.

ARTICLE XII.

The subjects of his Britannic Majesty residing in the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata shall not be disturbed, persecuted, or annoyed on account of their religion, but they shall have perfect liberty of conscience therein, and to celebrate divine service either within their own private houses, or in their own particular churches or chapels, which they shall be at liberty to build and maintain in convenient places, approved of by the Government of

the said United Provinces. Liberty shall also be granted to bury the subjects of his Britannic Majesty who may die in the territories of the said United Provinces, in their own burial-places, which, in the same manner, they may freely establish and maintain. In the like manner, the citizens of the said United Provinces shall enjoy, within all the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, a perfect and unrestrained liberty of conscience, and of exercising their religion publicly or privately, within their own dwelling-houses, or in the chapels and places of worship appointed for that purpose, agreeably to the system of toleration established in the dominions of his said Majesty.

ARTICLE XIII.

It shall be free for the subjects of his Britannic Majesty residing in the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata to dispose of their property, of every description, by will or testament, as they may judge fit; and in the event of any British subject dying without such will or testament in the territories of the said United Provinces, the British consul-general, or, in his absence, his representative, shall have the right to nominate curators to take charge of the property of the deceased, for the benefit of his lawful heirs and creditors, without interference, giving convenient notice thereof to the authorities of the country; and reciprocally.

ARTICLE XIV.

His Britannic Majesty being extremely desirous of totally abolishing the slave trade, the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata engage to co-operate with his Britannic Majesty for the completion of so beneficent a work, and to prohibit all persons inhabiting within the said United Provinces, or subject to their jurisdiction, in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, from taking any share in such trade.

ARTICLE XV.

The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London within four months, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

Done at Buenos Ayres, the second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five.

(Signed)

WOODBINE PARISH.

MANUEL JOSÉ GARCIA.

V.

PRELIMINARY CONVENTION OF PEACE BETWEEN BRAZIL
AND BUENOS AYRES.

Signed at Rio de Janeiro, August 27, 1828.

IN the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

The Government of the Republic of the United Provinces of the River Plate, and His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, desirous of putting an end to the war, and of establishing upon solid and lasting principles that good intelligence, harmony, and friendship which ought to exist between neighbouring nations, who are called by their interests to live united by the bonds of perpetual alliance, have agreed, through the mediation of his Britannic Majesty, to settle a preliminary convention of peace, which shall serve as a basis to the definitive treaty to be concluded between both the high contracting parties, and for this end they have appointed their plenipotentiaries, viz.—

The Government of the Republic of the United Provinces, the Generals Don Juan Ramon Balcarce, and Don Tomas Guido ;

His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Marquis of Aracaty, Member of his Majesty's Council, Gentleman of the Imperial Chamber, Councillor of Finance, Commander of the Order of Aviz, Senator of the Empire, Minister and Secretary of State in the Department of Foreign Affairs ; Sñr. José Clemente Pereira, Member of his Majesty's Council, Chief Judge of the House of Supplication, Dignitary of the Imperial Order of the Cross, Knight of that of Christ, Minister and Secretary of State for the Department of the Interior, and *ad interim* of Justice ; and Sñr. Joaquim de Oliveira Alvarez, Member of his Majesty's Council and of that of War, Lieutenant-General of the National and Imperial Armies, Officer of the Imperial Order of the Cross, Commander of that of Christ, Minister and Secretary of State for the War Department, &c. ;

Who, after the exchange of their respective full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed to the following articles :—

ART. I. His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil declares the province of Monte Video, at present called the *Cisplatine*, separate from the territory of the empire of Brazil, in order that it may

constitute itself into a free and independent state, from every and any nation, under the form of government which may be judged suitable to its interests, necessities, and resources.

II. The Government of the Republic of the United Provinces on their side consent to declaring the independence of the province of Monte Video, now called Cisplatine, and to its constituting itself into a free and independent state, in the form declared in the preceding article.

III. Both the high contracting parties bind themselves to defend the independence and integrity of the province of Monte Video, in the time and manner which shall be determined upon in the definitive treaty of peace.

IV. The present Government of the Banda Oriental, immediately after the ratification of the present convention, shall convoke the representatives of that part of the said province which is at present subject to it; and the present Government of Monte Video shall simultaneously convoke the citizens resident within the latter, the number of deputies being regulated by the corresponding number of the citizens of the same province, and the form of their election by the regulation adopted for the election of their representatives in the last legislature.

V. The election of the deputies corresponding to the population of the fortress of Monte Video shall be made strictly "*extra muros*," in a place which shall be out of the reach of the artillery of the said fortress, and without the interference of any armed force.

VI. The representatives of the province, being assembled on the outside of the fortress of Monte Video, and of any other place occupied by troops, and which may be at least ten leagues distant from the nearest, shall establish a Provisional Government, which shall govern the entire province, until the establishment of a permanent Government, which shall be created by the Constitution. The existing Government of Monte Video and of the Banda Oriental shall cease immediately upon the installation of the new Government.

VII. The same representatives shall afterwards occupy themselves in forming the political Constitution of the province of Monte Video, which, before it is sworn to, shall be examined by commissioners of the two contracting Governments, for the sole end of seeing if there be contained in it any article or articles opposed to the security of their respective states. Should this prove to be the case, it shall be publicly and categorically made known by the said commissioners, and, in the event of their disagreeing, it shall be decided by the two contracting Governments.

VIII. Any inhabitant of the province of Monte Video shall be at liberty to quit the territory thereof, and to take with him the

property belonging to him, without prejudice, however, to any third party, before the Constitution be sworn to, if he should not wish to adhere to it, or if he should prefer to go away.

IX. There shall be a perpetual and entire oblivion of all and every act and political opinion which the inhabitants of the province of Monte Video and those of the territory of the empire of Brazil, which has been occupied by the troops of the Republic of the United Provinces, may have committed or expressed before the period of the ratification of the present convention.

X. It being the duty of the two contracting Governments to assist and protect the province of Monte Video until it shall be completely constituted, the said Governments agree that, if before the Constitution of the province shall be sworn to, and for five years afterwards, its internal tranquillity and security should be disturbed by a civil war, they will lend to its legal Government the necessary aid in order to maintain and support it. After the lapse of the time above mentioned all protection which is promised by this article to the legal Government of the province of Monte Video shall cease, and the same shall be considered in a perfect and absolute state of independence.

XI. Both the high contracting parties declare, explicitly and categorically, that whatever occasion there may be for the protection which, in conformity with the preceding article, is promised to the province of Monte Video, that protection shall be limited in every case to the restoration of order, and shall cease immediately after the re-establishment of it.

XII. The troops of the province of Monte Video and those of the Republic of the United Provinces shall evacuate the Brazilian territory in the precise and peremptory term of two months, reckoning from the day on which the ratifications of the present convention shall be exchanged, those of the latter crossing to the right bank of the River Plate or of the Uruguay, excepting a force of 1500 men, or more, which the Government of the said Republic may, if it find it convenient, retain within the territory of the said province of Monte Video, in such part of it as it may prefer, until the troops of his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil shall have completely evacuated the fortress of Monte Video.

XIII. The troops of his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil shall evacuate the territory of the province of Monte Video, including the Colonia del Sacramento, within the precise and peremptory term of two months, reckoning from the day on which the exchange of the ratifications of the present convention shall take place, and shall retire to the frontiers of the empire or embark, excepting a force of 1500 men, which the Government of the same Lord may retain in the fortress of Monte Video until the time when the provisional Government of the said province shall

be installed, with the express obligation of withdrawing this force within the precise and peremptory term of the first four months, at the latest, following the installation of the same provisional Government; and the said fortress of Monte Video, at the time of evacuation, shall be delivered up "*in statu quo ante bellum*" to commissioners fully authorised "*ad hoc*" by the legitimate Government of the said province.

XIV. It is understood that the troops of the Republic of the United Provinces, as well as those of his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, which in conformity with the two preceding articles are to remain temporarily in the territory of the province of Monte Video, shall not interfere in any way whatever in the political affairs of the said province, nor in its government, institutions, &c. They shall be considered as entirely passive and for the purpose of observation, and as retained there for the protection of the Government, and in order to guarantee the public and individual liberty and property; and they shall actively operate only if the legitimate Government of the said province of Monte Video should require their assistance.

XV. So soon as the exchange of the ratifications of the present convention can be effected there shall be a complete cessation of hostilities by sea and by land; the blockade shall be raised in the space of forty-eight hours on the part of the Imperial squadron; hostilities shall cease by land immediately after the signature of the convention and the ratification of it shall have been notified to the armies; and by sea in two days to St. Mary's, in eight to St. Catherine's, in fifteen to Cape Frio, in twenty-two to Pernambuco, in forty to the Line, in sixty to the Coast of Africa, and in eighty to the European Seas. All prizes which may be made by sea or land after the space of time above mentioned shall be considered as unlawful prizes, and indemnification be reciprocally made for them.

XVI. All the prisoners on both sides who may have been taken during the war by sea or by land shall be set free, so soon as the present convention shall be ratified and the ratifications exchanged, with the sole condition that they shall not be allowed to quit the country without giving security for the payment of the debts which they may have contracted in it.

XVII. After the exchange of the ratifications both the high contracting parties will proceed to the nomination of their respective plenipotentiaries, in order to settle and adjust the definitive treaty of peace which is to be concluded between the United Provinces and the empire of Brazil.

XVIII. If it should happen, contrary to expectation, that the high contracting parties do not come to an adjustment in the said definitive treaty of peace, owing to questions which may be raised,

and upon which (notwithstanding his Britannic Majesty's mediation) they may not agree, hostilities between the Republic and the Empire shall not recommence until after the five years stipulated in Article X.; nor shall hostilities then commence without six months' notice being given, reciprocally, with the knowledge of the mediating power.

XIX. The exchange of the ratifications of the present convention shall be effected in the fortress of Monte Video within the term of seventy days, or sooner if it be possible, reckoning from the date hereof.

In testimony whereof we, the undersigned, Plenipotentiaries of the Government of the Republic of the United Provinces, and of his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, in virtue of our full powers, do sign the present convention with our hands, and have affixed thereto the impressions of our arms.

Done in the city of Rio Janeiro, on the 27th day of the month of August, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ 1828.

(L. S.)	JUAN RAMON BALCARCE.
(L. S.)	TOMAS GUIDO.
(L. S.)	MARQUEZ DE ARACATY.
(L. S.)	JOSÉ CLEMENTE PEREIRA.
(L. S.)	JOAQUIM D'OLIVEIRA ALVAREZ.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

Both the high contracting parties engage to employ such means as may be in their power in order that the navigation of the River Plate, and of all the rivers that empty into it, may be kept free for the use of the subjects of the two nations for the space of fifteen years, in the manner which may be agreed upon in the definitive treaty of peace.

The present additional article shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted word for word in the preliminary convention of this date.

Done in the city of Rio Janeiro, &c. &c.

VI.

(Translation from the *Archivo Americano*, published at Buenos Ayres.)

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS FURNISHED TO THE MARQUIS OF
ST. AMARO ON HIS PROCEEDING TO EUROPE ON A
SPECIAL EMBASSY FROM HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY DON
PEDRO I.

1830.

Rio de Janeiro, April 21, 1830.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND EXCELLENT SIR,

1. BESIDES the affairs relative to the present Portuguese question, there exist others also of urgency which H. I. M. has thought proper to confide to the well-known zeal and loyalty of Y. E.

2. The Imperial Government is informed that the leading Sovereigns of Europe, after establishing the new monarchy in Greece, purpose to occupy themselves with the means of pacifying the Spanish Americas. The defeat at Tampico of the last military expedition against Mexico doubtless affords to the aforesaid Sovereigns a powerful motive for obliging the Court of Madrid, after the failure of so many attempts, to agree to some adjustment having for its object a pacification so much to be desired. It is indeed impossible that the civilized world can any longer behold with indifference the lamentable, immoral, and dangerous picture of so many States involved in anarchy, and verging on the brink of destruction.

3. It being, then, highly possible that the great Powers intend to enter into discussions upon this affair, and that Y. E., as an Ambassador from America, may be consulted upon it, H. I. M., in his wisdom, deems it convenient to the interests of the Empire to furnish Y. E. with the necessary instructions to take part therein with the character of H. I. M.'s Plenipotentiary. In truth, placed as Brazil is, in the centre of South America, and surrounded by the States which formerly belonged to Spain, it neither can nor ought to be indifferent to their policy, affecting as it may perhaps its own security, nor to any negotiation whatsoever conceived and carried on by the Governments of Europe, with the just as well as desirable object of regulating and constituting the aforesaid States, and thereby putting an end to the civil dissensions which are deluging them with blood.

4. H. I. M. consequently desires that as soon as Y. E. should be invited by any of the said Governments to give your opinion upon this difficult affair, or whenever you may be sure yourself that the affair in question is really under their consideration, you will declare yourself authorized to take part in the negotiations in

question, guiding yourself in their progress by the following instructions :—

5. Y. E. will endeavour to demonstrate to the Sovereigns who may take part in this negotiation, that the only efficacious means for the pacification and constitution of the old Spanish colonies is that of establishing constitutional or representative Monarchies in the different States which are independent. The ideas and the principles which in the course of twenty years of revolution have been imbibed by the present generation are opposed to the establishment of any absolute form of government.

So for the like reason it was that in Europe Louis XVIII., notwithstanding France had been under the military despotism of Napoleon, and that he might count upon being supported by the numerous armies which re-established him on the throne, judged, in his wisdom, that it was better for him to give a charter to the French than assume an absolute authority. In fact, if the character and customs of the Spanish Americans are adapted on the one hand to a Monarchy, their new notions and principles, shaken by so many disasters, incline them on the other towards a mixed form of government; and upon this point it is that Y. E. will insist with all possible force.

6. In treating of the founding of representative Monarchies, and only in that case, Y. E. will manifest the expediency of considering the rising national pride of the new American States. Already separate and independent of each other, Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, and the Argentine Provinces may constitute so many distinct and separate Monarchies. The division of any of these states, or their union with others, would meet with serious impediments from the spirit of the people.

7. With regard to the new Oriental State, or Cisplatine Province, which does not form part of the Argentine territory which was incorporated with Brazil, and cannot exist in a state of independence, Y. E. will opportunely and frankly endeavour to prove the necessity of again incorporating it with the Empire. It is the only side on which Brazil is vulnerable. It is difficult, if not impossible, to prevent acts of hostility, and to put down the outrages of malefactors on either side of the frontiers. It forms the natural boundary of the Empire, and would be the means of preventing future causes of dispute between Brazil and the Southern States.

8. In case England and France should oppose its reannexation to Brazil, Y. E. will insist, for reasons of political expediency, which are obvious and weighty, that if the Oriental State is to remain independent, it should be constituted into a duchy or principality, so as in no manner to form part of the Argentine Monarchy.

9. In the choice of Princes for the thrones of the new Monarchies,

and if it should be necessary to bring them from Europe, Y. E. will not hesitate to give your vote in favour of such members of the august family of Bourbon as may be disposed to repair to America. Those princes, besides the prestige in their favour as descendants or nearly connected with the dynasty which for so many years reigned over the States in question, offer through their relationship and friendship with so many Sovereigns a solid guarantee for the tranquillity and consolidation of the new Monarchies.

10. In the event of any young Princes being selected, as for example the second son of the Duke d'Orléans, or of any other having sons, it will be expedient, and H. I. M. desires, that Y. E. should immediately propose a marriage or promise of marriage between them and the Princesses of Brazil. Indeed it is necessary to declare to Y. E. that the second son of the Duke d'Orléans should be expressly named, as H. R. H. has already shown himself disposed to marry him to the young Queen of Portugal, even though she should not be restored to her throne.

11. Y. E. may engage and promise that H. I. M. will employ every means of persuasion and counsel on his part in order to pacify the new States, and with a view to the projected establishment of representative Monarchies binds himself immediately to open and cultivate relations of intimate friendship with the new Monarchs. Having had the glory of founding and maintaining almost alone the first constitutional Monarchy in the New World, H. M. the Emperor wishes to see his noble example imitated and those principles of government which he has adopted made general in all South America.

12. If for this desirable object it should be required that H. I. M. should engage to lend material assistance, or to administer subsidies of money and of land and sea forces, Y. E., referring to our political and financial circumstances, will represent the impossibility of the Imperial Government contracting such obligations.

13. If after repeated instances Y. E. should deem it absolutely necessary to make some promise of assistance, H. I. M. will not hesitate to bind himself to defend and aid the Monarchical representative Government which may be established in the Argentine Provinces by a sufficient naval force stationed in the Rio de la Plata, and the land forces which he maintains on the southern frontier of the Empire.

14. This obligation not to be valid—

1st. Unless the Cisplatine Province should be incorporated with the Empire; because then H. I. M. could with greater promptness and facility aid the new Monarchy with a division of the army and of the squadron which he would be obliged to keep there.

2nd. Unless constitutional Monarchies be previously esta-

blished in Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia ; because otherwise the Imperial Government, having to take the initiative, might be exposed to insult or invasion on the part of the adjoining Provinces.

15. If in the course of the negotiation any notion of altering the territorial limits of the Empire should be manifested, under the pretext of giving greater extension to or rounding any of the neighbouring States, Y. E. will exert yourself to repel such an idea ; finally declaring that H. I. M. cannot engage, without the previous approbation of the General Legislative Assembly, to dismember or to cede any part of the territory of the Empire in virtue of a treaty celebrated in time of peace.

16. In conformity with the principles laid down in these instructions, Y. E. is authorized by H. M. the Emperor, our Master, to negotiate and conclude with the great Powers of Europe a convention or treaty, subject to H. I. M.'s ratification.

God preserve Y. E. many years.

Palace of Rio Janeiro, April 21st, 1830.

MIGUEL CALMON DU PIN E ALMEIDA.

N.B.—Of the Princesses of Brazil, Doña Francisca is married to the Prince de Joinville, and the other, Doña Januaria, to the Count d'Aquila, brother to the King of Naples ;—the Emperor himself has married into the same family ;—so far realizing the expressed wishes of their father.

With regard to the establishment of Monarchies in the New States of America, whatever may have been the opinions of some of their leading men a quarter of a century ago in favour of such a system, time and circumstances seem now to have definitively set at rest all question amongst them upon that point. The Republican forms of government are apparently everywhere much too firmly rooted to be changed. The people have become habituated to them, and would in all probability repel by force any attempt on the part of Foreign governments to interfere with them.

On the question of the incorporation of the Banda Oriental with Brazil (the independence of which not two years before the date of these instructions the Emperor had solemnly recognized by a treaty made under British mediation, and pledged himself to maintain), it appears by the last accounts received from that part of the world that the Brazilian Government, profiting by the late division of parties and the entire prostration of the country, has marched a powerful army into it, and made treaties with certain parties there which appear virtually to give them all the power and influence over the new state, short of absolute sovereignty, which Don Pedro himself desired.

It is for others to judge how far this is in accordance with the *bonâ fide* intents of the Convention of 1828, one main object of which on the part of the mediating power was to make a sort of neutral ground of that which had so long been the battlefield between the people of Spanish and Portuguese origin ; and by the creation of an intermediate and independent state so to separate them as to prevent the chance of future collisions between them ; as an additional security against which the contracting parties were bound by a special article not to renew hostilities without six months' previous notice to each other, and to the mediating power.

VII.

COPY, IN THE GUARANI LANGUAGE, OF THE MEMORIAL ADDRESSED BY THE PEOPLE OF THE MISSION OF SAN LUIS, PRAYING THAT THE JESUITS MIGHT BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN WITH THEM. DATED 28TH FEBRUARY, 1768.

I. H. S.

SEÑOR GOVERNADOR.

Tupa tanderaârô anga oroè ndebe ore Cabildo Caziq^s reta, Aba, haè Cuña, haè mitâ rehebe San Lui ÿ gua orerubeteramo ndereco ramo Corregidor Santiago Pindo, haè Don Pantaleon Cayuari Oiquatia orebe oreraÿhupareteramo ndereco aipo hae rehe ore yerobia hape oroiquatia àngà ndebe hupigua ete rupi, co ñande Rey poroquaita Guïra tetirô oromondo huguâ Nande Rey upeguâra, oromboaci mirî eÿ ngatu ndoroguerecoi ramo oromondo haguâ rehe oico ñote Tupa omoña hague rupi Caàguï rupi, haè oñeguâ hê orehegui hae ramo iyabai ete oromboaye haguâ; aiporamo yepe oroico Tupa haè ñande Rey boyaramo hecobia tetirô oreyoquai reco rupi, Colonia mbohapi yebi ipiei bo, haè ombae àpo hece tributo hepibeêmo, haè àngà catu oroñiemboe Tupa upene acoi Guïra catupiribe Tupa Espiritu S^{to}. omeê haguâ ndebe, haè ñande Rey upe heçape bo, haè Angel Marangatu penaâromo rano. Aiporire nderehe yerobiahape; Ah Sñor. Gov^{dor}. ore rubeteramo ndereco ramo ñemomirîngatu hape oroyerure àngà orereçaÿ pîpe San Ignacio ray reta Pay abere dela Compã. de Jesus ipicopi haguâ ma rehe ore paûme yepi, cobaè rehe catu eyerure àngà ñande Rey Marângatu upe Tupa rerapîpe, haè hayhupape; Cobaè rehe oyerure gueçaï pîpe opia guibe taba guetebo, Aba, hae Cuña, Cunumi, Cuñataï reta rano; bite tenànga y poriahu baè meme. Pay Frayle, coterâ Pay Clerigo ndoroipotai. Apostle S^{to}. Thome Tupa boya martu niâ omombeu corupi ore ramoï upe, haè cobaè Pay Frayle, haè Clerigo nomaey orerehe, San Ignacio ray reta catu ou y piramo i àngata oreramoï reta re cabo rehe, haè omboè oreramoï ymongaraibo. Tupa upe, haè Rey España ùpe, ymoñemeêbo, Pay Frayle cotéra Clerigo, ndoroipotai ete; Pay dela Comp^a de Jesus. Orereco poriahu

ogüero hôsâ quaaabâè, haè orobîâ porâ hece, Tupa upe, ñande Rey upe guara, haè oremeêne Tributo Guaçube Caà mirî ereipotaramo, Eney àngàque Sñor. Govern^r. marângatu terehendu àngà oreñeê poriahu imbo àyeucabo àngà? Aiporire orereco ndoicoi Esclavo rehegua, oreremimoâruâ catu, noromoârûay Caray reco ñabo ñabô oyeupe año iñangatabae o amo reta rehe maê ymo y pĩtĩ bo ey mo, y mongaru ey mo rano; cohupigua ete oromombeu àngà ndebe, nde ereipota reco rupi ore y mombeu haguâma? Ani ramo cotaba; haè taba tetirô rûĩ ocañĩmba ne coĩte ñndebe nande Rey upe haè Tupa upe Aña retâme oroyeoita coĩtene haè acoi ramo oremano ramo mabaè àngà pĩtĩ pàngà y arecone! a ni etei oreray reta nia obĩa yoya Caàguĩpe. Tabape rapicha, haè ndo hechairamo Pay San Ignacio ray reta, acoi ramo oaĩrĩne ñu rupi coterâ Caàguĩpe teco marâ à pobo, San Joachin retâ, San Stanislao retâ, San Fernando reta Timbo pegua ocañĩmba yma rapicha, oroiquaa porâ reco rupi, oromombeu àngà ndebe, haè rire ore Cabildo Tupa upe, haè ñande Rey upe ndoromboyebĩ beichene Taba reco Señor Governador Marângatu. Eney Fiyaye àngà oreyerurehague ndebe, hae Tupa nde pĩtibone, haè tanderârô yebĩ yebĩ àngà aipohaè ñote àngà.

San Luis hegüi, à 28 de Febr^o. 1768, rehegua nderayre ta poriahu Taba guetebo. Cabildo.

VIII.

STATISTICAL TABLES.

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA, 1837—47.

The Riverine Provinces	{	1. Buenos Ayres	320,000	
		2. Santa Fé	20,000	
		3. Entre Rios	30,000	
		4. Corrientes	40,000	
				410,000
The Upper Provinces	{	5. Cordova	90,000	
		6. Santiago del Estero	50,000	
		7. Tucuman	45,000	
		8. Salta and Jujuy	80,000	
		9. Catamarca	30,000	
		10. La Rioja	25,000	
				320,000
Provinces of Cuyo	{	11. San Luis	20,000	
		12. Mendoza	45,000	
		13. San Juan	25,000	
				90,000
The Confederated Provinces			820,000	
That of Paraguay in 1840 was estimated at			220,000	
Total			1,040,000	
Add for the Banda Oriental			80,000	
Total estimated Population of all the Countries of the Rio de la Plata			1,120,000	

The numbers of the independent Indians in the Gran-Chaco, and in the territories to the south of Buenos Ayres, are variously estimated from 50,000 to 100,000.

It is stated in a number of the "Archivo Americano," published in 1844, upon the authority of the yearly Parochial Returns, that the population of the Province of Buenos Ayres had more than doubled in the 25 years preceding, and that the number of the inhabitants of the city then amounted to 110,000. Upon still later authority, it is said to have reached 120,000.

TABLE III.

STATISTICS OF THE MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS OF THE POPULATION OF BUENOS AYRES AND THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THE CITY FOR THE YEARS 1822 TO 1825.

I. MARRIAGES.	CITY OF BUENOS AYRES.				COUNTRY DISTRICTS.			
	1822.	1823.	1824.	1825.	1822.	1823.	1824.	1825.
1. Whites	331	366	357	393	602	547	513	549
2. Free Coloured People }	120	88	119	135	81	86	81	62
3. Slaves	130	112	107	71	40	50	48	41
Total	581	566	583	599	723	683	642	652
II. BAPTISMS.								
1. Whites	1962	2110	2163	2102	2703	2672	2534	2735
2. People of Colour	748	816	835	793	498	532	498	399
Total	2710	2926	2998	2895	3201	3204	3032	3134
III. DEATHS.								
1. Whites	1448	1927	1498	1812	1463	1801	1446	1392
2. Free Coloured People }	591	846	714	895	350	364	333	252
3. Slaves	114	145	114	98	52	74	90	47
Total	2153	2918	2326	2805	1865	2239	1869	1691

SUMMARY.

	1822.	1823.	1824.	1825.
Total Marriages	1305	1249	1225	1251
„ Baptisms	5911	6130	6030	6029
„ Deaths	4018	5157	4195	4496
Increase of Births over Deaths	1893	973	1835	1533

In the “Registro Oficial,” or Official Register of Buenos Ayres, from which this table is extracted, calculating the rate of mortality annually at about 1 in 32 for the city and 1 in 40 for the Country Districts, and taking the results of the years 1822-23—

The Population of the City in 1824 was estimated to be 81,136
 And of the Country Districts at 82,080

Making a total at that time of . . . 163,216

TABLE IV.

MEDICAL STATISTICS AND HOSPITALS.

In the General Hospitals for Men and Women, the number remaining for the previous year, and admitted in the year 1825, was—

	Men.	Women.
Admitted	2,856	505
Went out	2,234	81
Died	407	70
Remaining, 31st Dec. .	215	49

Out of a Return of 214 deaths, of the following ages—

11 from 12 to 20	27 from 50 to 60
57 from 20 to 30	14 from 60 to 70
46 from 30 to 40	7 from 70 to 80
49 from 40 to 50	3 from 80 to 90

—there were cases of

Dropsy	12	Lockjaw	16
Fever (adinamaca?) . .	33	Apoplexy	8
Pulmonary Consumption .	41	Gastric fever	12
Do. Scrofulous	13	Inflammation of the Liver .	26
Pleurisy	7	Putrid fever	5

Vaccine Establishments.

In 1829 there were vaccinated 4160 children in the Province of Buenos Ayres, being equal to about two-thirds of the number of births in the year.

In the Foundling Hospital.

There remained on 1st January, and were received in all the year .	371
There died	83
Were placed out	51— 134
Remained 31st of December	237

The Hospital for Foundlings at Buenos Ayres was opened in 1779, from which date up to 1830 there had been received into it 5630 children.

TABLE V.

STATISTICS OF CRIME.

In April, 1822, the prisons of Buenos Ayres contained 180 individuals charged with the following offences:—

Homicide	24
Stabbing with the knife and fighting	60
Rape	4
Bigamy	2
Drunkards and vagabonds	10
Forgery	2
Insubordination	4
Threatenings	5
Theft	69
	180

In 1825 the number of committals to the public prisons was . . .	4,205
Already in confinement on 1st of January	273
	4,478
In the course of the year there were released	4,003
Remained in prison 31st December	475

TABLE VI.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

In 1825 the number of Students in the University of Buenos Ayres was . 415

The numbers of poor children under primary instruction (primera enseñanza) educated gratis, were—

In the Schools within the City	{ 2,526 boys 1,788 girls }	4,314
In those of the Country Districts of Buenos Ayres . {	858 boys 20 girls }	878
Total		5,192

IX.

TABLE I.—RESULTS OF METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS at BUENOS AYRES during the Five Years from 1817 to 1821.

—	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821
Highest of Fahrenheit's Thermometer	83° on Feb. 20	85° on Feb. 9	85° on Jan. 17	86° on Jan. 13	85° on Feb. 21 and March 9
Lowest of ditto in the shade, in-doors	28° on July 10	37° on June 4	43° on Aug. 3	38° on July 5 to 10	41° on July 20 to 24
Rainy Days . . .	60	83	65	56	67
Days of Thunder and Lightning	28	30	29	36	39
Violent Gales . .	On Aug. 8, Sept. 6, and in October and November.	On Jan. 7 and 30, March 29, Sept. 27, Oct. 11, and Dec. 6	On Jan. 8, 13, 25, and 31, April 20, Oct. 25, and Dec. 26	On Jan. 26, June 10, and Aug. 20	On Jan. 31, Feb. 12, and Sept. 7.
Phenomena observed	On Feb. 22, at 7 A.M. a cloud of dust produced total darkness for 4 minutes. The Planet Mercury visible from Sept. 10 to 28 at 6 in the evening.	On Oct. 25 and 27 a cloud of winged insects (<i>ephemera</i>)	On Jan. 20, March 14 and 21, and April 17, swarms of (<i>genes</i>) coleoptera. The Planet Venus visible from Jan. 25 to April 13	.	On Jan. 31 at 4½ P.M. dense clouds of dust completely darkened the atmosphere for 8 minutes. A Comet visible from the end of March to April 26.

N.B.—The range of the Barometer at Buenos Ayres is very slight, seldom exceeding 4 or 6 decimal lines; it is a very rare occurrence if it amounts to 10; the mean for 12 months in 1822 was 29° 66'.

	Thermometer.			Barometer.			Hygrometer.		Winds.			
	Max.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Min.	Days Humid.	Days Dry.	North East.	North to West.	South to East.	South West.
1822												
Summer	91	71·82	60	30·04	No observations	29·21	19	..	12	3	9	6 ^a
	89	73·00	58	30·04	29·58	29·21	19	9	12	8	3	5
Autumn	82	70·83	53	29·88	29·61	29·33	20	10	12	6	6	7
	78	62·04	43	29·82	29·73	29·46	22	8	7	8	4	11
Winter	68	58·31	44	30·18	29·76	29·21	30	1	13	7	2	9
	66	54·32	40	30·05	29·77	29·23	30	0	14	5	2	9
	68	52·55	38	30·17	29·65	29·21	31	0	13	4	7	7
	66	51·83	36	30·21	29·84	29·51	31	0	18	3	6	4
Spring	72	54·64	42	30·41	29·74	29·32	30	0	13	3	11	3
	81	58·91	46	30·13	29·67	29·24	30	1	17	5	5	4
	88	68·43	56	29·91	29·61	29·17	28	2	23	1	5	2
	86	70·91	62	30·00	29·45	29·15	23	8	16	3	6	6
1823												
Summer	94	75·31	60	29·92	29·54	29·25	5	39	170	56	66	73
	93	78·42	66	29·95	29·60	29·21	3	26	17	4	5	5
Autumn	93	75·79	52	30·02	29·88	29·18	19	12	10	6	9	6
	72	67·50	57	30·08	29·30	29·27	29	1	14	9	5	2
Winter	63	52·50	41	30·14	29·79	29·53	31	..	11	12	6	2
	65	52·50	40	30·15	29·68	29·15	30	..	16	5	9	..

In the eighteen months the highest of the thermometer was 94, in the month of January; the lowest 36, in August. It has been known to rise to 96, as in January, 1824, when it was at that point some days. On the other hand, it has been known to fall as low as 28 and 29, as in 1817; but these extremes are very rare.

X.

BAROMETRICAL OBSERVATIONS made by Dr. REDHEAD on road from BUENOS AYRES to POTOSI, with Altitudes as computed by Mr. PETERMANN after comparison with other data.

Place of Observation.	Barometer.	Thermometer.	Date.	Hour.	Estimated Altitude above the Sea.
	°	°			Ft.
Buenos Ayres	..	..	..	..	50
Rio Tercero	28·945	86	Feb. 11	11 A. M.	990
Cordova	28·400	86	„ 20	4 P. M.	1,558
Sinsacate	27·990	75	Mar. 12	11 A. M.	2,033
San Pedro	26·990	60	„ 17	6 „	2,900
Durasno	27·300	73	„ 17	9 P. M.	2,656
Piedritas	27·500	72	„ 17	Noon	2,450
Pozo del Tigre	27·550	71	„ 17	5 P. M.	2,392
Portezuela	27·860	69	„ 18	Noon	2,070
Ambargasta	28·875	67	„ 19	9 A. M.	1,050
Punte del Monte . . .	29·260	82	„ 19	4 P. M.	735
Salinas	29·600	68	„ 20	6 A. M.	358
Noria	29·400	76	„ 20	2 P. M.	595
Tucuman	27·563	75	Feb. 10	..	2,490
Salta *	26·113	75	..	..	3,973
Huamaguaca	21·415	57	June 2	4 P. M.	9,642
Cueba	21·200	54	„ 2	..	8,973
Colorados	19·350	50	May 31	8 A. M.	12,406
Cangrejos	19·625	32	„ 30	6 P. M.	11,723
Abra de Cortaderas . .	..	..	..	..	13,000
Quiaca	19·300	50	May 29	4 P. M.	12,462
Cerro de Berque . . .	19·100	60	„ 28	11 A. M.	12,943
Berque	19·975	54	„ 27	4 P. M.	11,579
Talina	20·800	56	„ 26	9 A. M.	10,465
Tupiza	26·260	60	„ 25	9 „	3,900

* Observation of M. Paroisien.

XI.

SOME FIXED POINTS IN THE PROVINCES OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA.

PLACE.	S. Latitude.	Longitude.	Where from.	Observations.
	° ' "	° ' "		
<i>Province of Buenos Ayres.</i>				
Centre of the City of Buenos Ayres	34 36 29	58 23 34	Greenwich	
Anchorage of H. M. S. Ne-reus in the Outer Roads in 1813	34 34 30	58 2 0	"	{ Variation $12\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ E.—1813
Luxan	34 38 36	1 1 10	{ W. of Buenos Ayres	
Guardia del Salto	34 18 57	2 14 49	"	{ Variation 14° 39' E.—1796
Fort Roxas	34 11 48	2 41 39	"	
Fort Mercedes	33 55 18	3 4 14	"	
Fort Melinqué	33 42 24	3 30 38	"	
Corzo, near the Lake (source of the Salado)	34 4 55	3 36 32	"	
Lake Roxas	34 19 7	3 2 56	"	
Lake Carpincho	34 35 31	2 52 44	"	
Lake Toro-Moro	34 49 1	2 38 30	"	
Lake Palentalen	35 10 15	2 6 34	"	
Lake de los Huesos	35 14 30	1 34 44	"	
Lake del Trigo	35 14 3	1 14 54	"	
Cisne	35 46 0	0 20 5	E. of ditto	
Manantiales de Porongos	35 54 50	0 1 55	"	
Lake Camerones Grandes	36 0 59	0 9 19	"	
Altos de Troncoso	36 5 30	0 10 55	"	
Fort Chascomus	35 33 5	0 22 20	"	
Fort Ranchos	35 30 46	0 3 20	"	
Lake Ceajo	35 29 49	0 16 40	W. of ditto	
Guardia del Monte	35 26 7	0 31 10	"	
Guardia de Lobos	35 16 7	0 52 10	"	
Fort Navarro	35 0 13	1 3 25	"	

N.B.—The above positions from Luxan to Navarro were determined in the course of a survey of the frontiers, made in 1796 by Don Felix Azara, aided by Cerviño and Inciarte, all officers attached to the Commission for laying down the boundaries under the treaty, between Spain and Portugal, of 1777. The Statistical Register of Buenos Ayres for 1822 has added to them the following:—

San Pedro	33 40 51	1 32 0	{ W. of Buenos Ayres.
Barradero	33 43 50	1 25 4	"
Conchas	34 25 15	0 10 31	"
Pergamino	33 53 16	2 24 25	"
Areco	34 11 57	1 26 47	"
Arecife (Fort)	34 3 8	2 6 13	"
Pilar	34 26 4	0 52 54	"
Cañada de Moron	34 40 45	0 23 49	"
Magdalena	35 5 29	0 44 0	E. of ditto

FIXED POINTS—*continued.*

PLACE.	S. Latitude.	Longitude.	Where from.	Observations.
	° ' "	° ' "		

*Observations taken on the Journey of Don Pedro Garcia, in 1810,
to the Salinas.*

Pass of the Salado . . .	35 2 0	1 56 0	Buenos Ayres	
Palantalen	35 12 0	2 7 0	"	
Lakes Tres Hermanas . .	35 23 0	2 16 0	"	
Cruz de Guerra	35 41 0	2 24 0	"	
Cabeza del Buey	36 10 0	2 52 0	"	
First Lake of the Cañada } Larga }	36 38 0	3 24 0	"	
Lake del Monte	36 53 0	3 57 0	"	
Lake de los Paraguayos .	36 58 0	4 12 0	"	
Lake of the Salinas (centre)	37 13 0	4 51 0	"	

Positions fixed on the Expedition in 1823 to extend the Frontiers.

Fort on the Tandil . . .	37 21 43	0 39 4	Buenos Ayres	{ Variation 14° 59' E.—1823.
Lake beyond the Tinta } Hills }	37 40 3	1 27 0	"	
Another further on . . .	37 44 7	2 0 7	"	Var. 15° 18' E.
Ruins of the Jesuit Mission	37 59 48	..	"	

By the Officers of His Majesty's Ship Beagle, in 1832.

Cape Corrientes	38 5 30	57 29 15	Greenwich	
Sierra Ventana, highest } summit }	38 11 45	61 56 18	"	
Fort Argentino, near Bahia } Blanca }	38 43 50	62 14 41	"	

On the River Negro.

Pilot's house at the entrance } of the River Negro . . . }	41 0 42	62 46 15	Greenwich	{ Var. 17° 42' E. 1832.
Town of Carmen on ditto .	40 48 18	62 58 0	"	
East end of the Islands of } Cholechel }	39 0 0	..	"	{ By Villariño, in 1782.
Junction of the River Neu- } quen }	38 44 0	..	"	
Junction of the River En- } carnacion }	40 6 0	..	"	
Villarinos, furthest up the } Catapuliché }	39 33 0	..	"	

FIXED POINTS—*continued.*

PLACE.	S. Latitude.	Longitude.	Where from.	Observations.
	° ' "	° ' "		
<i>Positions on the road from Buenos Ayres to Chile, fixed in 1794 by Bauza and Espinosa, officers attached to Malaspina's Surveying Expedition.</i>				
Post of Portezuelas . . .	33 53 0	..	Greenwich	
„ Desmochados . . .	33 10 0	..	„	
„ Sanjon, on the River } Tercero }	32 40 0	61 45 0	„	
Pass on the Tercero . . .	32 23 30	..	„	
San Luis de la Punta . . .	33 18 0	65 47 0	„	
Pass of the Desaguadero . .	33 26 0	..	„	
Mendoza	32 52 0	69 6 0	„	
Uspallata	32 33 20	..	„	
St. Jago de Chile	33 26 0	70 46 0	„	

Provincial Towns.

Cordova	31 26 14	314 36 45	Ferro	{ M. de Souillac, 1784
Santiago del Estero . . .	27 47 0	..	„	Azara
Tucuman	26 52 27	..	„	
Salta	24 51 7	..	„	
Corrientes	27 27 0	319 55 0	„	Azara
Assumption	25 16 40	320 12 0	„	„

Affluents of the River Paraguay.

Mouth of the Vermejo . .	26 54 0	..	..	{ By Azara in 1785.
„ Tebicuari	26 35 0	..	..	
Fort Angostura	25 32 0	..	..	
Mouth of the Pilcomayo . .	25 21 9	..	..	
„ Piray	25 2 0	..	..	{ Quiroga, in 1750.
„ Salado	25 1 0	..	..	
„ Peribibuy	24 58 0	..	..	
„ Mboicay	24 56 0	..	..	
„ Tobati	24 50 0	..	..	
„ Ibohi	24 29 0	..	..	
„ Quarepoti	24 23 0	..	..	
„ Xexui	24 7 0	..	..	
„ Ipané-mini	24 2 0	..	..	
„ Fogones	23 51 0	..	..	
„ Ipané-guazu	23 28 0	..	..	
„ Guarambaré	23 8 0	..	..	
„ Corrientes	22 2 0	..	..	
„ Tepoti	21 45 0	..	..	
„ Inboteti	19 20 0	..	..	
„ Tacuari	19 0 0	..	..	
„ Porrudos	17 52 0	..	..	
„ Jaurú	16 25 0	320 10 0	Ferro	

FIXED POINTS—*continued.*

PLACE.	S. Latitude.	Longitude.	Where from.	Observations.
	° ' "	° ' "		
<i>Towns in Paraguay.</i>				
Yaguaron	25 41 15	} . .	} . .	Azara, in 1785.
Itapé	25 51 14			
Cazapa	26 9 53			
Yuti	26 36 4			
Point of embarkation on } the Tebicuari . . . }	26 35 21			

The Jesuit Missions of the Uruguay and Paraná, as fixed by the Boundary Commissioners, under the Treaty of 1777.

San Ignacio-guazu . . .	26 55 12	321 5 9	Ferro	N.B. The difference adopted between the meridian of Ferro and Paris by the Commissioners was 20° 30'.
Santa Maria de Fé . . .	26 48 10	321 11 9	"	
Santa Rosa	26 53 12	321 14 28	"	
Santiago	27 8 40	321 20 14	"	
San Cosmo	27 18 55	321 47 53	"	
Itapua	27 20 16	322 14 2	"	
Candelaria	27 27 14	322 19 30	"	
Santa Ana	27 23 40	322 31 23	"	
Loreto	27 19 44	322 35 19	"	
San Ignacio-mini . . .	27 14 55	322 43 11	"	
Corpus	27 7 36	322 36 27	"	
Trinidad	27 7 35	322 19 20	"	
Jesus	27 2 36	322 17 2	"	
San José	27 45 47	322 19 30	"	
San Carlos	27 44 36	322 11 1	"	
Apostoles	27 54 27	322 19 45	"	
Concepcion	27 58 51	322 33 22	"	
Santa Maria Mayor . .	27 53 34	322 38 59	"	
San Xavier	27 51 8	322 49 26	"	
Martires	27 50 24	322 36 49	"	
San Nicolas	28 11 23	322 44 21	"	
San Luis	28 25 41	323 1 23	"	
San Lorenzo	28 27 51	323 14 29	"	
San Miguel	28 33 13	323 22 24	"	
San Juan	28 27 51	323 37 22	"	
San Angel	28 18 13	323 47 15	"	
San Tomas	28 32 49	322 1 39	"	
San Borja	28 39 51	322 4 49	"	
La Cruz	29 11 0	321 30 0	"	
Yapeyú	29 28 0	321 17 2	"	
The Gran Salto, or Great } Fall on the Paraná . . }	24 4 58	. .	"	{ By the Bound- ary Commis- sioners, 1788.



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TOOTH OF MEGATHERIUM.
Natural size.

XII.

ON THE FOSSIL REMAINS OF THE MEGATHERIUM, MYLODON, AND GLYPTODON, FOUND IN THE PAMPAS OF BUENOS AYRES. BY PROFESSOR OWEN, F.R.S., &c.

MEGATHERIUM.

The megatherium was a large quadruped, in some dimensions surpassing the elephant, especially in the breadth of the hinder parts of the body, from which the trunk tapered forwards to the head, which was small.

The length of the body was from 12 to 14 feet, exclusive of the tail, which was thick, strong, and about 5 feet in length: the trunk was supported on four short but massive limbs, terminated by large feet, provided not only with claws, but with hoofs, or callosities like hoofs.

The outermost toes in both fore and hind feet were those so encased, and the foot was inclined inwards so as to rest upon those hoofs or callosities, which probably extended backwards along the outer margin of the sole, upon which the animal rested when it stood or walked. Three of the toes on the fore foot and one toe on the hind foot were armed with large and powerful claws, which, being bent upon the inwardly-directed palm or sole during progression on the ground, were prevented from being blunted or worn away. The teeth of the megatherium were few in number, of relatively small size in the extent of the grinding surface, but of great length and deeply implanted in the jaw: there were five on each side of the upper and four on each side of the lower jaw, not differing much from each other in size or shape, presenting a quadrate transverse section and a grinding surface composed of two transverse ridges; the summit of each ridge is formed by the edge of a plate of hard dentinal material, which extends through the length of the tooth; the plates are parallel and united together by a less dense intermediate substance, thickly inclosed by a similar substance, and the outer and inner substances wearing faster away than the intermediate harder plate, the ridged, grinding surface was thus always maintained in an effective state. The teeth terminate at the bottom of the socket, not by dividing into roots, but by a cavity which progressively widens as it descends, the base of the tooth forming a mere thin

shell about this cavity. The matrix or formative organ of the tooth was there lodged, as in the perpetually-growing front teeth of the rat and rabbit, whence it is inferred that the grinding teeth of the megatherium were endowed with a similar power of providing for the wearing down of the crown by equivalent growth at the base. Thus the triturating and masticating machinery of this huge herbivore was maintained in an effective state, and necessarily so, but by a different modification from that in the elephant. The large and complex grinders of that great proboscidian quadruped have a limited period of growth, but provision is made for an unusual number of successive teeth, which are of larger size as they follow one another from behind forwards in the jaw. Nature, ever fertile in her resources, attained the same end by different means in the megatherium, the same teeth being made to serve their purposes throughout life by the retained power of individual growth.

In order to lodge the persistent pulps of the teeth the jaws were made unusually deep, and their configuration, especially at the dentigerous part of the under jaw, gave its chief characteristic form to the skull of the megatherium. The muscles destined to work that massive jaw required corresponding modifications of the parts of the skull to which they were attached, and hence the extraordinary prolongation downwards of the masseteric part of the malar bone. The neck vertebræ were seven in number; those of the back, to which the ribs articulated, were sixteen in number; those of the loins did not exceed three; the sacrum consisted of five large anchylosed vertebræ, and the tail included not fewer than eighteen vertebræ, making a total of forty-nine vertebræ.

The parts of the ribs articulating with the sternum were bony, not gristly as in the elephant. The fore limbs were very powerful and endowed with the rotatory movements of the fore foot, called pronation and supination; and, in their application to burrowing or grasping, their action was perfected by the presence of strong and complete clavicles, strengthening and steadying the shoulder-joint. The arm bone (humerus) is much expanded at its lower end to afford the required extent of attachment to the pronator and supinator muscles of the fore foot. The bony sheath formed by the ungual phalanx of the middle digit indicates a powerful claw of about 1 foot in length and 8 inches in breadth at its base.

The pelvis and hinder limbs are still more remarkable for their colossal proportions; the breadth of the haunch-bones (ilia) with the intervening sacrum is 6 feet, that of the great male elephant in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons being 3 feet. The femur is three times as thick as in the largest elephant, but is shorter; it resembled that of the elephant in the absence of the pit on the hemispheric head for the attachment of the round

ligament. The two bones of the leg (tibia and fibula) had similar robust proportions, and were soldered together or ankylosed at both their extremities. The heel-bone is enormous, six times the size of that of the largest elephant, and the other bones of the foot present scarcely smaller proportions, but the toes are reduced in number; those answering to the innermost (*hallux*) and second toes in the elephant and other pentadactyle mammals were wanting; the third toe (*medius*) was enormously developed and armed with a powerful claw: the two outer toes, answering to the fourth and fifth, had obtuse, rough, stunted ends, evidently imbedded in a thick callous hoof.

In the number, shape, structure, and mode of growth of the teeth; in the peculiarities of the skull, blade-bone, wrist-bones, and ankle-bones; in the absence of medullary cavities in the long bones of the limbs; in the reduction of the number of the digits and the arming of some of these with long and powerful claws—the megatherium manifests the closest affinities, amongst existing quadrupeds, to the diminutive arboreal sloths, which are now peculiar to the forests of that continent in which the remains of the megatherium are almost exclusively found.

The construction of the dorsal and lumbar vertebræ negatives the idea entertained by Cuvier and De Blainville that the portions of a fossil bony carapace, found in the same formations as the remains of the megatherium, belonged to that animal. Indeed the fossil bones actually found associated with bony tessellated armour at the *Rio Matanza* have the nearest resemblance to those of the small existing armadillos, although generically distinct by the modifications in the form of the teeth (see *Glyptodon*).

From the foregoing outline of the osseous structure of the megatherium it is evident that that low-built, broad, and massive quadruped was endowed with prodigious muscular strength; that its fore limbs were organized for application to other purposes than those of mere locomotion, and that the tail must have served as a kind of fifth limb, especially in supporting or propping up the enormous hinder parts of the body.

With regard to its habits, food, and mode of life, different hypotheses have been proposed by the different anatomists and naturalists who have studied and described its skeleton. The German authors Pander and D'Alton, who have given the best figures of the famous skeleton of the megatherium at Madrid, conceived that it must have been a burrowing animal, and compared it with those fossorial rodent quadrupeds which live in burrows and subsist on the roots of plants. Dr. Lund, who has described some animals allied to the megatherium, together with many other fossils which he discovered in the caves of Brazil, conjectures that the megatherium climbed trees, in order to

browse, like the sloths, on the leaves, and that it was aided by a prehensile tail. Cuvier concluded that the megatherium made use of its claws to dig up the roots of plants on which it fed.

The colossal size of the megatherium renders the fossorial hypothesis improbable: the animal was too powerful, and possessed in its long claws too formidable weapons, to need to conceal itself in the earth from its foes. The same huge bulk compels the supporters of the scansorial hypothesis to assume a corresponding magnitude of the trees to support the weight of such a climbing giant; and the idea derives no support from the structure of the tail, which is organized to aid in supporting the massive hinder parts of the animal, and not for prehension.

On the hypothesis that the megatherium subsisted on roots and used its claws to extract them from the soil, much of its peculiar organization remains unexplained, especially the remarkable expanse of the sacrum and the powerful development of the hind limbs.

The close conformity of the teeth in their composition and structure with those of the sloths indicates a similarity in the nature of their food, whilst the difference in the form of the body and in the proportions and structure of the limbs determines a difference in the mode of obtaining that food. The superadded digits buried in callosities for walking on the ground show plainly that the megatherium did not pass its time in trees; but whilst its enormous claws would serve to expose and detach the roots, the organization of the fore limbs well adapted them for grappling with the trunk, and the prodigious power of the pelvis and hind limbs was fully equal to work the fore parts of the body with a force required for the prostration of the tree.

On the supposition that the megatherium subsisted on the leaves and smaller branches of trees, and obtained its food either by wrenching off the branches or fronds within its reach, or by prostrating the entire tree, all the peculiarities of its organization are intelligible, and are seen to be well adapted to the operations requisite for obtaining such kind of food.

Genus MYLODON.

The species of this genus, which like the megatherium are now extinct, resembled that animal in their massive proportions, in the expansion of the pelvic region of the body, in the length and strength of the feet, which were provided with both hoofs and claws, and in the number, kinds, disposition, and structure of the teeth; but the form of the teeth, and especially of their grinding surface, was different, and there was an additional toe on both the

fore and hind feet, giving rise to the generic distinction indicated by the name. Three species of *Myiodon* have now been recognized; that which has been discovered in Buenos Ayres, called the *Myiodon robustus*, is represented by the almost entire skeleton in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. This skeleton measures 9 feet in length; the head is small in proportion to the trunk, and resembles that of the Megatherium in having a strong process descending from the zygomatic arch. The trunk, shorter than that of the hippopotamus, is terminated behind by a pelvis, equalling in breadth and exceeding in depth that of the elephant, and supported by two massive hinder extremities and by a tail of corresponding length and thickness. The lumbar vertebræ are anchylosed to the sacrum. A long and capacious thorax is defended by sixteen pairs of ribs, most of which equal in breadth those of the elephant, and are clamped by ossified cartilages to a strong and complex sternum. The scapula, of unusual breadth, and with the acromial and coronoid processes united by a bony arch, are attached to the sternum by strong and complete clavicles. The humeri, short and thick, have their processes and condyles strongly developed. Both bones of the forearm are distinct, with the mechanism for pronation and supination complete. The fore-foot is pentadactyle, with the two outer digits obtuse, stunted, for being encased in a callous hoof; the hind foot is tetradactyle, with the two outer toes similarly modified; the remaining toes on both feet are armed with long and strong claws. Both the fore and hind feet are so articulated as to have the sole inclined inwards, the outer edge of the foot and the two outer ungulate digits being the parts which must have principally sustained the superincumbent weight when the animal stood or walked along the ground.

A second species, called *Myiodon Darwinii*, appears to have inhabited the southern parts of South America, where its remains were discovered by Charles Darwin, Esq. A third species, the *Myiodon Harlani*, has left its remains in a cavern in Kentucky.

GENUS GLYPTODON.

This generic name has been proposed for some gigantic extinct species of armadillo, the remains of which have been found in the newer tertiary deposits and caverns of South America. The actual representatives of the race are of small size, and are chiefly remarkable for their coat of armour, which is composed of numerous small bony pieces united by suture, and with certain portions arranged in jointed bands to facilitate the movements of the armour. The gigantic glyptodons had their coat of mail in

one piece, without bands; their teeth were of a more complex form and structure than in the existing armadillos (*Dasypus*), and they resembled the great terrestrial sloths in having a long process descending from the zygomatic arch. The feet were remarkably short in proportion to their breadth and thickness, and the digits appear to have been terminated by hoofs rather than claws.

The almost entire carapace of the *Glyptodon clavipes*, in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, is composed of thick pentagonal ossicles united together at their margins by sutures; smooth on the inner surface, where the sutures are most conspicuous, rough and sculptured on the outer surface, where each ossicle supports a central, large, flattened eminence surrounded by five or six smaller ones, the whole forming a rosette. The length of this carapace, following the curve of the back, is 5 feet 7 inches; the breadth, following the curve of the middle of the back, is 7 feet 4 inches; the breadth in a straight line across is 3 feet 3 inches. The total number of ossicles in the carapace of the *Glyptodon clavipes* may be estimated at above two thousand.

THE END.

